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GEOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

February 4th, 1880.

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JOURNAL
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BOMBAY BRANCH
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NO. XLVI. VOL. XVII.

ART. I.—*The Prākṛits and the Apabhraṃśa.*¹ By RAMKRISHNA
GOPAL BHANDARKAR, M.A., Ph.D., HON. M.R.A.S.

ॐ नमः परमात्मने ।

On the last occasion we examined the language of the sacred books of the Southern Buddhists, and found that a large portion of the words it contains are pure Sanskrit and the rest are Sanskrit words corrupted or transformed according to certain laws of phonetic decay. Then by the law of false analogies the less used and less known declensional and conjugational forms have been in many cases brought over to the type of those more used in Sanskrit and consequently better known. So that in the vocabulary and the grammar the laws of growth I traced in the opening lecture are in operation, but their range is limited, and the dialect is in what may be called the first stage of departure from Sanskrit. We then examined the language of the

¹ Continuation of Bombay Wilson Philological Lectures. See No. XLIII. Vol. XVI of 1885.

Inscriptions of Aśoka and found that it is either the same as Pāli or in the same stage of development, and that there existed in those times two or three varieties of speech slightly differing from each other. To-day I propose to examine certain other dialects which exhibit a much greater departure from the parent tongue. These are the so-called Prākṛits. For a knowledge of these languages we have not to go beyond India, as in the case of the one we have examined. Prākṛit dialects possessed a literature and a portion of it has come down to us.

There exist about six treatises on Prākṛit grammar, the most ancient of which is Vararuchi's Prākṛitaprakāśa. Next comes Hemachandra, a Jaina scholar of Gujarat, who lived in the twelfth century. His work on grammar is known by the name of *Uaimavyākaraṇa*, the eighth chapter of which he devotes to the grammar of the Prākṛits. Hemachandra's treatment of these dialects is fuller than Vararuchi's; and his observation was wider. He shows a very intimate knowledge of the existing literature of these languages, both sacred and profane, Jaina or Brahmanical. His work and especially the last portion is full of quotations. He must have availed himself of the labours of former scholars, since he often mentions *Pūrvāchāryas*. Hemachandra also wrote a *Kośa* or the saurus of the Deśi words existing in these languages. Vararuchi gives the grammar of four dialects, which he calls Mahārāshṭrī, Śauraseni, Māgadhī, and Paisāchi. The names of the first three themselves would show that they were the languages spoken or used in the provinces from the names of which they are derived, but doubts have been raised as to their genuineness, which will be hereafter considered. The Mahārāshṭrī is called the principal Prākṛit. For instance, Daṇḍin in his *Kāvyādarśa* says—

“The language prevalent in Mahārāshṭra they regard as the Prākṛit pre-eminent; it is the ocean of jewels in the shape of good literary works, and the Setubandha and others are written in it.”

Vararuchi devotes the first nine chapters of his work to the Mahārāshṭrī, and then a chapter each to the rest. The peculiarities only of the latter dialects and their differences from the Mahārāshṭrī are given, and in other respects they are to be considered similar to the first. Hemachandra follows the same method; but he does not mention the name Mahārāshṭrī and speaks of the dialect only as the Prākṛit.

² महाराष्ट्रभाषां भाषां प्रकृष्टं प्राकृतं विदुः ।

सागरः सुक्तिरत्नानां सेतुबन्धादि यन्मयम् ॥

These grammarians and all others who have written on the subject treat of the grammar of the language etymologically. They take Sanskrit as the original language or *Prākṛiti* and give rules about the various phonetical and grammatical changes which have reduced Sanskrit to the *Prākṛit* form. The Pāli grammarian Kachchāyana treats the dialect not as one derived from Sanskrit as these writers do, but as an independent language, though it is very probable he knew Sanskrit, since he uses Sanskrit grammatical terms, and his *Sūtras* greatly resemble those in the *Kātantra* and even Pāṇini. Vararuchi and Hemachandra derive Śaurasenī also from the Sanskrit as they do the Mahārāshṭrī or the principal *Prākṛit*, but make the Śaurasenī the *Prākṛiti* or basis of the Māgadhī and the Pāśāchī. This appears to be the tradition; whence it would seem that the older and more developed language or the language of respectable people was the Śaurasenī, and the other two were the dialects of border countries used by persons in a lower scale of society. They have some of the peculiarities of the Śaurasenī, and come nearer to it than to the Mahārāshṭrī. Hemachandra gives the grammar of two more dialects, the Chūlikā Pāśāchī and the Apabhramśa, the latter of which was, according to Daṇḍin, the language of Ābhiras (cowherds) and others. Another grammarian of the name of Trivikrama gives in his *Prākṛitasūtravṛitti* the grammar of these six dialects. He lived after Hemachandra, since he mentions him in the introduction to his work, and his book resembles Hemachandra's a good deal. There is another work by Chandra called *Shatbhāshāchandrikā* which is a meagre production. Another still of the same nature, the author of which is Lakshmidhara, mentions the same six dialects; so that the expression *Shatbhāshā* seems to have become proverbial.

The Mahārāshṭrī derived its importance from its literature. From the manner in which Daṇḍin speaks of that literature it appears to have been very extensive and valuable. He himself mentions one work, the *Setubandha*, a poem attributed to Kālidāsa but written by one Pravaraśena, whose "fame," Bana says in his *Harshacharita*, "reached the other side of the ocean by means of the Setu." I find in a Ms. in the colophon at the end of each *ūsvāsa* or canto, sometimes इभ सिरीपवरसेनविरइए रहमुहवहे (thus in the *Daśamukhavadhā* composed by the prosperous Pravaraśena), and sometimes, इभ पवरसेनविरइए कालिदासकए रहमुहवहे (thus in the *Daśamukhavadhā*, the work of Kālidāsa, composed by Pravaraśena).

Some kings of Kaśmir bore the name of Pravarasena, but there is nothing to show that any one of them was the poet who wrote this work. There is a collection of seven hundred songs, chiefly of an amorous nature, by a poet of the name of Hāla, which is called the *Saptasāti*. We have an edition of this in Roman characters by Prof. Weber. Another long poem entitled the *Gauḍavadhakāvya* by a poet named *Vākpatirāja*, who lived at the court of Yaśovarman, king of Kanoj, in the early part of the eighth century, was discovered by Dr. Bühler about three years ago. And several other works may turn up if diligent search is made for them. The *Kāvya prakāśa* contains about 75 Prākṛit verses quoted to illustrate the rules laid down by the author, and *Śārṅgadharma* also gives a good many in his *Paddhati*.

The religious books of the Jainas form another very extensive branch of Prākṛit literature. Prof. Weber thinks the language of these to be later than the Pāli and earlier than the Prākṛits, so as to occupy a middle position, and calls it *Jaiṇa-Māgadhî*. But Hemachandra himself, who must have known his religious books well, and was, as I have observed, a great Prākṛit scholar, treats it as the principal Prākṛit or *Mahārāshṭrî*, and in his grammar of this he in several places gives forms of words peculiar to his sacred language, which after the example of his Brahmanic brothers he calls *Ārsha Prakrit*³. In giving his first rule about the *Māgadhî* dialect, *viz.*, that the nom. sing. of Masc. nouns takes the termination ए, he says:—“As to what the fathers have said about the *Ārsha* (works) being composed in the *Ardha-Māgadhî* dialect in such words as these: ‘the ancient *Sûtra* is composed in the *Ardha-Māgadhî* dialect,’ they have said so in consequence of the observance of this rule and not of those that follow.⁴ Thus if one chooses to call the sacred language of the Jainas *Ardha-Māgadhî* on account of this *Māgadhî* peculiarity and a few other archaisms, he may do so; and I shall presently have to observe that the great many dialects which writers on poetics give differed from each other in such insignificant particulars only. But it is clear that Hemachandra considers the distinction to be slight, and identifies the dialect with the principal

³ आर्षम् । ३ । ऋषीणामिदमार्षम् । आर्षे प्राकृतं बहुलं भवति । तदपि यथास्थानं दर्शयिष्यामः । आर्षे हि सर्वे विधयो विकल्प्यन्ते । He has also said before, that the rules he is going to give even with regard to the ordinary Prākṛit should not be considered universal.

⁴ यदपि पौराणमद्वयमागहभासानिययं हवद् सुचमित्यादिनार्षस्यार्धमागधभाषानियत-
त्वमात्रायि वृद्धस्तदपि प्रायोस्यैव विधानात् वक्ष्यमाणलक्षणस्य ।

Prākṛit; and both he and the Jaina fathers refer it to the class of the Prakṛits of the grammarians⁵.

⁵ The only specific grounds one can find in Prof. Weber's book in support of the assertion that the Jaina dialect occupies a middle position are these:—1. That uninitial क्, ग्, ञ्, ज्, त्, द् and other consonants are dropped in the Mahārāṣṭrī leaving only the vowel, and preserved or softened in the Pāli, while in the Jaina books य् is substituted for them; i.e., the different stages of phonetic corruption in this case are, the consonants in their original or softened forms, then य् for them, and lastly their elision. 2. That न् is preserved in the Pāli, and changed everywhere to ण् in the Mahārāṣṭrī; while in the Jaina dialect initial न् remains unchanged except in enclytics. 3. That the loc. sing. of nouns in अ ends in सि or सि which we find in the language of the column inscriptions; while it is हिम् and हि in the Pāli and हिम् in the Prākṛit. Now as to the first, the य् is not prior to the elision, but contemporaneous or subsequent to it, being found even in the modern vernaculars. It was introduced simply to facilitate pronunciation; i.e., it is a strengthened form of the vowel. Thus the Prākṛit of पाद foot is पाअ, but in Marāṭhī we have पाय; so राजन् Skr., राज Pr., राय H.; सोदर Skr., सोअ Pr. सोयरा M., &c. &c. The य् occurs not only in Jaina books, but everywhere in the Gaudavadhakāvya; and Hemachandra does tell us in his sūtra अदर्णो य्भुतिः that the अ that remains after the elision of a consonant is pronounced like a soft य्. With regard to the second, initial न् is found unchanged in the Gaudavādha in a great many places. Thus in stanza 242 we have the negative particle न्, in 241 निवड्ढ for निपतति, in 245 नाह for नाथ, and in 251 नह for नख. These instances I have found on simply opening the Ms. at random; and no great search was necessary. Hemachandra also in his sūtra वादौ following another नो न् says that the initial न् is sometimes changed to ण्, sometimes not. As to the third, the termination सि may constitute a peculiarity of the language, but it is by no means an index to its higher antiquity, since it occurs in the pronominal locative of the principal Prākṛit. There are several peculiarities in the Jaina books, and a good many of them are noticed by our Grammarian, but they do not show an earlier stage of development.

This continues still to be my view, notwithstanding all that has since been published on the subject. Dr. Hoernle, in the introduction to his edition of Chanda's Prākṛitalakṣhaṇa makes an elaborate attempt to prove that the dialect the grammar of which is given in that book is more ancient than the Prākṛit of Vararuchi and Hemachandra. But it is not at all difficult to see that he is altogether on a wrong tack. He says there is nothing in Hemachandra corresponding to the rule given by Chanda about dropping the final vowel of the first member of a compound when the initial vowel of the second is followed by a conjunct consonant, in such words as dhana + dāhya,

But it is in the dramatic plays that we find these dialects principally used. Writers on Poetics prescribe that a particular dramatic person should speak a particular dialect. Sanskrit is assigned to respectable men of education, and women in holy orders; Śaurasenî, to respectable ladies in their prose speeches, and the Mahârâshtrî or the principal Prâkrît, in the songs or verses put into their mouths. Śaurasenî is also assigned to inferior characters; and the Mâgadhi and Paisâchi to very low persons. The general rule is that a dramatic person should speak the language of the country to which he or she is supposed to belong.

deva + indra, &c., which in that Prâkrît have the forms *dhanaḍḍha*, *devinda*, &c. This change, however, does come under Hemachandra's rule I. 84, which provides for the shortening of a long vowel when followed by a conjunct consonant. The short vowels corresponding to *ॠ* and *ॡ* are *इ* and *उ*; and among the instances given by Hemachandra, we have *narindo* for *narendra*, *aharuṭṭha* for *adharoṣṭha*, *Niluppala* for *Nilotpala*, &c. Dr. Hoernle thinks the changes of *i* to short *e* and of *u* to short *o* are later Prâkrît changes. But he will find many instances of them in the Pâli, which certainly is an older dialect than any Jaina Prâkrît. They are, he says, unknown to Chanḍa. Chanḍa's work is a very meagre production, in which very little endeavour is made to classify facts; and thus he must be supposed to include these changes under his very general rule that *one vowel takes the place of another vowel* (II. 4). The instance *gṇhaṭi* incidentally given by him in connection with another rule does not show that in his Prâkrît the form *geṇha* did not exist, much less that the change of *i* to *e* was unknown. Then with regard to consonants, Dr. Hoernle says there are five points in which the "older Prâkrît" of Chanḍa, as he calls it, differs from the Prâkrît of Vararuchi and Hemachandra. One of these is "the preservation of the dental *n* in every case." For this statement the Doctor quotes the authority of a sūtra in which we are told by Chanḍa that *ङ* and *ञ* do not exist in the Prâkrît, as compared with another version of that sūtra which says that *ङ*, *ञ*, and *ञ* do not exist (II. 14). This last version no doubt provides for the change of *न* in all cases; but the other which denies the non-existence or affirms the existence of *न* cannot mean that it exists or is unchanged in *all* cases. The denial of non-existence or affirmation of existence only proves its existence or remaining unchanged in *some* cases. Besides we have a specific rule where we are told that a letter of the *ट* class takes the place of the corresponding letter of the *न* class (III. 16), thus providing for the change of *न* to *ण*; and the instance given is *पण* for *पन*. But this rule the Doctor thinks holds good in exceptional cases, for which however there is no authority whatever, and he gives none. Again, he says that his statement is proved by the uniform spelling of the Prâkrît examples with *n* in Mss. A and B which according to him, contain the older version of the work. I however,

Later writers give more minute rules. For instance, the author of the *Sāhityadarpaṇa* assigns *Māgadhi* to the attendants in the royal seraglio, *Ardhamāgadhi* to footmen, royal children, and merchants, *Prāchyā* to the *Vidūshaka* and others, *Āvantiki* to sharpers, warriors, and clever men of the world, *Dākṣhiṇātyā* to gamblers, *Śākāri* to *Śākāras*, *Śakas*, and others, *Bāhlikā* to celestial persons, *Drāviḍi* to *Draviḍas* and others, *Ābhīri* to cowherds, *Chāṇḍālīki* to outcastes, *Ābhīri* and *Śābari*, also to those who live by selling wood and leaves, and *Paśāchī* to dealers in charcoal. Handmaids, if they do not belong to a very low class, should speak *Śauraseni*. Some of the modern

find that the spelling in his edition, which is the spelling of A and B, follows uniformly, with one or two exceptions, in which we must suppose a mistake, the rule laid down by Hemachandra, viz., that initial *n* is optionally changed to *ṇ*, while medial *n* is necessarily so changed. The instances are:—all the case-terminations which are to be traced to the Sanskrit terminations having *n* in them, such as *जो*, *मि*, and *नं*; *मुनिजो* for *मुनीन्* (I. 1), *गयणओ* for *गगनन्तः* (I. 10), *मजिस्सा A.* (I. 21), *नाणी* (I. 24) for *ज्ञानी*, *सक्कीसाणा* for *सक्केज्ञानौ* (II. 1.), *काणं* (II. 15), *गयणं* for *गगनम्* (II. 21), *पीलणं* for *पीडनम्* (II. 24), *नाणं* for *ज्ञानम्* (III. 6), *जुअणं* for *यौवनम्* (III. 15), and *रअणं* for *रत्नं* (III. 30). The second point is "the preservation of the medial single surd unaspirate consonants with the only exception of *k*." This simply means the preservation of *ch*, *t*, and *p* which according to the other grammarians are generally dropped. Chāṇḍa agrees with these in dropping not only *k*, but *g*, *j*, and *ḍ*. Whether therefore the preservation of *ch*, *t*, and *p*, supposing that Chāṇḍa really allows it, marks off his *Prākṛit* as older than that of Hemachandra or Vararuchi is more than questionable. But, as a matter of fact in III. 12, he does provide for their change to *j*, *ḍ*, and *b*; and the change of *t* to *ḍ* is a *Śauraseni*, i.e., a local change, and does not indicate priority of time. Besides, even the dropping of these consonants must have been contemplated by him. For in the instances given in the book, they are dropped in all the manuscripts used by Dr. Hoernle, even in A and B, which according to him contain the older version. Thus we have *इइ* for *पति* (I. 12), *गयणओ-उ* or *गयणाओ-उ* for *गगनन्तः* (I. 16), *कय* for *कृतम्* (I. 23 and everywhere else), *इहागओ-उ* for *इहागतः* (II. 1.), *इच्छिअं* for *इच्छितम्* (II. 3.), *कायन्-अं* for *कर्तव्यम्*, *सुइणं* for *सूचीनाम्* (II. 4), *नेउरं* for *नूपुरम्* (II. 4), *घयं* for *घृतम्*, *काउण* for *कृत्वा*, *दीसइ* for *दुश्यते* (II. 5), *गच्छइ* for *गच्छति*, *बइ* for *पति* (II. 10), *सरिआणं* or *सरियाणं* for *सरिताम्* (II. 11), *गइ-ई* for *गतिः*, *मइ-ई* for *मतिः* (II. 17), &c. &c. It is very much to be regretted that the Doctor should in all these cases have set aside the readings of his manuscripts and invented his own with the *ṇ*, *च्*, and *प्* standing in the words, instead of being dropped. This invention or restoration, as he calls it, is based on a singular inference that he deduces from a single word,

grammarians also mention as large a number of dialects. But whether these were actually used by writers of dramatic plays in accordance with the rules of the Rhetoricians, or if they did, what constituted the exact difference between these various languages, it is impossible to determine so long as we have not got satisfactory editions of the plays. Still in those cases in which we have the assistance of the older Prākṛit grammarians, the characteristics of each can be made out with fulness and certainty. To illustrate his rules about the Māgadhi, Hemachandra quotes from the speeches of the fisherman and the two policemen in *Sakuntalā*, of the Kshapaṇaka from the *Mudrārākṣha*, and Rudhira-priyā from the *Veṇisambhāra*. The points in which the Māgadhi chiefly differs from the principal Prākṛit and Śaurasenī are these :—*र* and *स* of these are changed to *ह* and *झ*; *स्य* and *ये* of Sanskrit to *स्त*, and *ह* to *स्ट*; and *स* is not assimilated as in *पस्वलदि* from *प्रस्वलति*; the nom. sing. of masc. nouns ends in *ए* instead of *ओ*, which is the Prākṛit ending; the gen.

कृतं given as a Prākṛit word in the book. He says it must originally have been *कतं*, but the copyist, not knowing of such a word being in the later Prākṛit which he knew, took it as the Sanskrit *कृतं*, and wrote accordingly. If, therefore, *कतं* was the Prākṛit word in this case, it must have been so in all those cases in which *कयं* occurs in the book, and so Dr. Hoernle makes it *कतं* throughout. But it did not strike him that if the copyist knew Prākṛit enough to see that *कतं* was not a Prākṛit word, he must have seen that *कृतं* also was not a Prākṛit word; and could not have given it as such. Now the reason why these consonants were not admitted by Chanda according to the manuscripts A and B, among those that are dropped, but only among those that are softened must be that all these rules are only general and not universal, and there were as many instances of softening as of dropping. Besides, I have already said that Chanda's work is perfunctory, and does not show accuracy of observation and statement. The third point is the preservation of the medial single surd aspirate consonants with the only exception of *kh*; i.e., *ड*, *ध*, *ढ*, are preserved. But III. 11 provides for the change of these to *ढ*, *ध*, and *ध*, if we look to the sense of the sūtra and also to some of the instances that are given. The change of *ध* to *ध*, is a Śaurasenī peculiarity. Of the two remaining points one is the insertion of *य* to avoid the hiatus caused by the dropping of a consonant, about which I have already spoken, and the other is unimportant.

There is, therefore, no question that the Prākṛit, a meagre grammar of which is given in the work edited by Dr. Hoernle, is not older than Hemachandra's.—(1887).

sing. of masc. and neut. nouns optionally in अह् as कम्माह्; and the form of the nom. sing. of the first personal pronoun is ह्ये. If we apply the test furnished by these rules to the several dialects used by the characters in the *Mṛichchhakaṭika* as it is in the existing editions, which play contains a large variety of characters, and consequently of speech, we shall find that the language of the Chāṇḍālās, the Śākāra, his servant Sthāvaraka, and even Kumbhīraka and Vardhamānaka, is Māgadhī, though the rules about एय्, धै, and ङ are scarcely observed. There is hardly any dialectic difference in their speeches. But the *Sāhityadarpaṇa* would lead us to expect his Chāṇḍālikā and Śākārī respectively, in the first two cases, and Ardhāmāgadhī in the last three. As before observed, some admixture of Māgadhī characteristics constitutes this last dialect. Under this view there are instances of the use of the Ardhāmāgadhī, as Lassen remarks, in the *Prabodhachandrodaya*. The dialect used by Māthura, the keeper of the gambling-house in the *Mṛichchhakaṭika*, is somewhat different. In his speeches, we sometimes find ख् and झ used for र् and स्, and sometimes not. The nom. sing. ends in ओ, as in the *Mahārāshṭrī* or *Śaurasenī*, in some cases in others it ends in ए as in the Māgadhī, and sometimes in उ as in the *Apabhraṁśā*; and the gen. sing. sometimes ends in अह् as in the Māgadhī. If the text is to be depended on, the *Dākṣhiṇīyā* which *Viśvanātha** attributes to gamblers may be such a mixed language.

It would thus appear that if all these inferior dialects did exist and were used by dramatic writers, they differed from each other in unimportant particulars, and that most of them belonged to the Māgadhī species, since the Mss. have confounded them with the Māgadhī of the grammarians. Hence we are justified in taking the real number of *Prākṛit* dialects used for literary purposes to be six, viz., those mentioned by Hemachandra, Trivikrama, and Lakshmidhara.

* Another gambler without a name is introduced in the same scene, whose language Prof. Lassen thinks is *Dākṣhiṇīyā* and Māthura's, *Āvantikī*. Very few speeches, however, are given to the former, and it is not possible to come to any definite conclusion from them; but so far as they go there is hardly any difference between his dialect and that of Māthura. The Professor is led to attribute two languages to gamblers by the annotator on the *Sāhityadarpaṇa* whom he quotes, and who explains धूर्त by असुदेविन्. But if the word is to be so understood, दीव्यताम् in the next line is not wanted, and neither शोध nor नागरिक. For, supposing the warriors and clever worldly men were gamblers, gambling was not confined to them; whence there is no reason to mention them in particular.

Daṇḍin mentions a work of the name of Bṛihatkāthā written in the language of the ghosts, i.e., in the Paśāchī. Dr. Bühler has recently obtained a trace of the work, and arrangements have been made for getting it copied.⁷ It is traditionally ascribed to a poet of the name of Guṇādhya.

Let us now examine cursorily the principal Prākṛit and the Śaurasenī which ranks next to it in literary importance, but as the model of the inferior dialects and as the language used by the higher class of Prākṛit-speaking dramatic persons in their prose-speeches is more important than the other, here, as before, I will place a specimen of each before you :—

61. निय[अ]आए चिय[अ] वायाइ अत्तणो गारवं निवेशेन्ता ।
जे यन्ति पसंसं चिय[अ] जयन्ति इह ते महाकइणो ॥
63. दोग्गचंमि वि सौख्याइ ताण विहवे वि होन्ति बुख्याइ ।
कव्वपरमत्थरसिया[आ]इ जाण जायन्ति हियया[अआ]इ ॥
67. संहिइ सुहाविइ य[अ] उवहुज्जन्तो लवो वि लच्छीए ।
देवी सरस्सइ उण असम्मगा किपि विणडेइ ॥
99. अत्थि निय[अ]त्तिय[अ]नीसेसभुवनदुरिया[आ]हिनन्दिय[अ]महिन्दो
सिरि जसवम्मां त्ति दिसापडिलग्गुणो महीनाहो ॥

Sanskrit :—

61. निजयैव वाचयात्मनो गौरवं निवेशयन्तः ।
ये यान्ति प्रशंसामेव जयन्तीह ते महाकवयः ॥
63. दौर्गत्येपि सौख्यानि तेषां विभवेपि भवन्ति बुख्यानि ।
काव्यपरमार्थरसिकानि येषां जायन्ते हृदयानि ॥
67. शोभयति सुखयति चोपभुज्यमानो लवोऽपि लक्ष्म्याः ।
देवी सरस्वती पुनरसमग्रा किमपि विडम्बयति ॥
- * 99. अस्ति निवर्तितनिःशेषभुवनदुरिताभिनन्दितमहेन्द्रः ।
श्रीयशोवर्मेति दिशाप्रतिलम्बगुणो महीनाथः ॥

61. "Victorious are the great poets who, establishing their greatness by their own words, do obtain praise only."

63. "Those whose hearts appreciate the true beauty of poetry experience joys even in poverty and sorrows even in prosperity."

67. "Even a small degree of Lakshmi when enjoyed adorn and delights, but the divine Sarasvatī if imperfect is an unspeakable mockery."

⁷ So Dr. Bühler told me at the time; and on a subsequent occasion I myself thought I had found a trace of the work. But up to this time all our search has proved fruitless. (1887).

99. "There lives a king named Yaśovarman who delights Indra by removing all the distresses of the world and whose virtues have reached the ends of the quarters."

Sāurasenī :

कथं अपुगहीदम्हि । इयमालिङ्गामि । दंसणं उण पिअसहीए बाहुप्पीडेण निरु-
द्धं न लम्भीअहि । सहि कठोरकमलपम्हलो अण्णारिसो ज्जेव्व हे अज्ज निव्वावेहि
सरीरफंसो । किं अ मडलिविणिवेशिदञ्जली मह वअणेण विण्णवेहि तं जणं न मए
मन्दभाइणीए विअसन्तपुण्डरीअलच्छीविलासहारिणो मुखचन्द्रमण्डलस्स हे स-
च्छन्ददंसणेण संभाविदो चिरं महस्सवो लोअणाणं ।

Sanskrit :

कथमनुगृहीतास्मि । इयमालिङ्गामि । दर्शनं पुनः प्रियसखया बाहुपोत्पीडेन निरु-
द्धं न लभ्यते । सखि कठोरकमलपद्मलोन्यादृश एव तेद्य निर्वपयति शरीरस्पर्शः ।
किं च मौलिविनिवेशिताञ्जलिर्मम वचनेन विज्ञापय तं जनं न मया मन्दभाग्यया वि-
कसत्पुण्डरीकलक्ष्मीविलासहारिणो मुखचन्द्रमण्डलस्य ते स्वच्छन्ददर्शनेन संभावि-
तश्चिरं महोत्सवो लोचनानाम् ।

"What! thou has obliged me. Here I embrace. But I do not catch a glimpse of my dear friend, my sight being obstructed by the flow of tears. Friend, the contact of thy body, hairy like a ripened lotus, cools my body in a peculiar manner to-day. Moreover, with thy hands clasped and placed over thy head, do at my request, humbly say to that person, 'Unfortunate as I am, I have not feasted my eyes long, by looking freely at the moon of thy face which rivals the blown lotus in beauty.'"

In the Ms. of the Gaṇḍavadhā, from which the first extract is given, अ and आ preceded by अ and इ are marked as य and या. In Mss. of other works the य does not appear; but there can be no question that it represents the later pronunciation correctly, since as already remarked in a note this य is observed in some of the modern vernaculars. But it is to be pronounced like a strengthened अ or आ and not like the heavy semi-vowel that I mentioned in my observations on the Pāli.

From these extracts you will observe that phonetic decay has made greater progress in these dialects than in the one we have examined. The changes in the Pāli are, with a few exceptions, such as may be attributed to the circumstances and vocal peculiarities of a foreign race. But in the Prakṛits the usual processes of corruption have a wider range of operation; though even here we shall, as we proceed, find it necessary to ascribe a good deal to an ethnological cause. And first as regards the phonetic transformations which we have

noticed in the Pāli, I have to observe that the Prākṛits also exhibit the same with but slight differences. The vowel **क्** is changed to **अ** as in **घअ**, **तण**, **मअ**, &c. for **घृत्**, **तृण**, **मृग**, &c.; to **इ** as in **किवा**, **हिअअ**, **किस**, &c., for **कृपा**, **हृदय**, **कृश**, &c.; to **उ** as in **पुहई**, **पाउस**, **वुडु**, &c., for **पृथिवी**, **प्रावृष्**, **वृद्ध**, &c. When standing alone it is more often changed to **रि** than in Pāli; as in **रिद्धी** and **रिच्छ** for **क्द्धि** and **क्क्ष**; **रिण** or **अण**, **रिजू** or **उजू**, &c., for **क्ण**, **क्क्षु**, &c., while the Pāli forms of these words are **इद्धि**, **अच्छ**, **अण** and **उजू**. The diphthongs **ऐ** and **औ** are as in Pāli changed to **ए** and **ओ**, as in **केलास**, **वेज्ज**, **केदव**, &c., for **कैलास**, **वैद्य**, **कैटभ**, &c.; and in **जोव्वण**, **कोमुई**, **कोत्थुह**, &c., for **यौवन**, **कौमुदी**, **कौस्तुभ**, &c.; but in a good many instances they are dissolved into their elements **अइ** and **अउ**, as in **इइच्च**, **भइरव**, **इइवअ**, **सइर**, &c., for **दैत्य**, **भैरव**, **दैवत**, **स्वैर**, &c., and **पउर**, **कउसल**, **सउह**, **मउली**, &c., for **पौर**, **कौशल**, **सौध**, **मौलि**, &c. This change resembles the dissolution of conjunct consonants into the different members, and like it is due to a weak or languid way of pronunciation. In **ऐ** and **औ** the first element or **अ** is rapidly pronounced, and the temporal value assigned to it by the authors of the Prātiśākhya is, you will remember, half a mātṛā, while in the Prākṛit transformations it is one mātṛā. The long vowels are as in Pāli shortened when followed by double consonants; and there is the same or even stronger evidence of the existence of short **ए** and **ओ**. In Pāli short **इ** and **उ** followed by a conjunct are in certain cases changed to **ए** and **ओ**, and from that fact we inferred that they were short. Here in a great many more cases when so followed, short **इ** is optionally interchangeable with **ए**, and short **उ** is necessarily replaced by **ओ**, as in **पिण्ड** or **पेण्ड**, **पिह** or **पेह** **निहा** or **नेहा**, &c., and **तोण्ड**, **मोण्ड**, **पाक्खर**, &c., for **पिण्ड**, **पिट**, **निग्ग**, **तुण्ड**, **मुण्ड**, **पुष्कर**, &c. In several cases **ए** not followed by a conjunct is optionally changed to **इ**, as in **विअणा** or **वेअणा** for **वेदना**, **विअर** or **वेअर** for **देवर**, &c. The **ए** in these words must for some reason that we will hereafter consider have been pronounced short and hence interchangeable with **इ**. Sometimes the consonant following an **ए** or **ओ** is doubled, as in **तेल्ल**, **पेम्म**, **सोत्त**, **जोव्वन**, &c., for **तैल**, **प्रेमन्**, **स्रोतस्**, **यौवन**, &c., which could only be because those vowels were pronounced short, and the loss of quantity thus occasioned made up for by rendering the pronunciation heavy and forcible. In other cases the **ए** was so pronounced by some and not by others; and so we have **एक्क** or **एअ** for **एक**, **सेव्वा** or **सेवा** for **सेवा**, &c. The syllables **अय** and **अव** are changed to **ए** and **ओ** oftener than in Pāli, the **अब** of the causative and the

tenth class becoming ए necessarily throughout, as in कारेइ, हासेइ, कहेइ for कारयति, हासयति, कययति &c.

All the sibilants are reduced to स् as in the Pāli, but in the Magādhā dialect to ह्; as शालघ, पुलिघ for सारस, पुरुष, &c. These dialects do not possess the cerebral छ, and therefore we have ह् in the place of the Pāli छ, and in some cases the original Sanskrit ह्; as in तलाभ, गरुह, कीलह for the Pāli तळाग, गरुळ, कीळति and Sanskrit तडाग, गरुड, कीडति, &c., गुल or गुड, पाली or पाडी for the Pāli गुळ, नाळी, &c. and पीडेह, नीड for the Pāli पीळेति, नीळ, &c. There are a good many more examples of the change of dentals to cerebrals than in the Pāli, both through the influence of a neighbouring इ or without it. The इ and इ which correspond to ह् and ए are in most cases softened to ङ् and ङ्. Thus we have पडि for the Pāli पडि, as in पडिमा, पडिहार, for प्रतिमा, प्रतिहार, &c., and पडुडि, पडण, बहेडभ, for प्रभृति, पतन, विभीतक; डोला or डोला, डम्भ or डम्भ, डडभ or डडभ for डोला, डम्भ, डर्भ, &c.; पडम (Pāli पडम), सिडिल, मेडी, भोसड for प्रथम, सिधिल, मेयि, औषध, &c. In Pāli the dental nasal न् is changed to ण् in but a few instances; but here it is so changed throughout, necessarily when uninitial, and optionally when at the beginning of a word; as कणभ, मभण, वभण, for कनक, मदन, वदन, &c., and नर or नर, नई or नई, नेइ or नेइ, for नर, नरी, नयति, &c. The opposite process is however observable in the Paisāchī dialect, where not only have we no instances of this change but even the original Sanskrit न् is changed to न् as in गुन, गन, for गुण, गण, &c. The conjunct consonants are transformed in the Prākṛits in the same way as in the Pāli. In the former however, ज् and न्ज् are changed to ण् and not to ङ् as in the latter, as in जाण, सण्णा, अण्ण, सुण्ण, for ज्ञान, संज्ञा, अन्व, शून्य, &c. To be thus corrupted, ज् must in the original Sanskrit have been pronounced as if it were composed of ज् and न्; and sometimes the latter must have been so weakly pronounced that the sound of ज् prevailed over it and the whole became ज्, as in जाण or जाण, सवज्ज or सवज्ज, मणोज्ज or मणोज्ज, for ज्ञान, सर्वज्ञ, मनोज्ञ, &c. In the Paisāchī and the Māgadhī however, the Pāli transformation is retained; as in सऊमा, सवऊम, ऊमका, अनिमऊम्, for संज्ञा, सर्वज्ञ, कन्वका, अनिमन्त्र, &c. The conjunct ज्ञ् is sometimes changed to ऊञ् corresponding to the ण् of the older dialect, and ह् to ह् in which case the heavy *nāda* of ह् is transferred to the ह् which takes the place of ह् as in the change of ह् to ह्. In Pāli the consonants of ह् only interchange places; i.e. it becomes ह्. From this and from the change of the initial uncombined ह् to ह्, it appears that very often the Sanskrit ह्, was pronounced heavily when the

Prākṛits arose. The Śaurasenī and the dialects allied with it have, however, both the Pāli and the Prākṛit corruptions of ई.

A dental forming a conjunct with a following ळ is in a few cases changed to the corresponding palatal ; as in भोक्षा for भुक्त्वा, चक्षर for चत्वर, पिच्छी for पृथ्वी, विज्ञं for विद्वान्, बुद्धा for बुद्धा, झअ for ध्वज, झुणी for ध्वनि, सङ्गस for साध्वस, &c. This seems to arise from the fact that ळ was pronounced so lightly that it lost its distinctive character, and the conjuncts came to be confused with those containing a dental and य् which, you will remember, are changed to a double palatal. In Pāli the त्व is retained in these instances, and the ह् and ध्व are changed to ह् and ळ् according to the general rules, and the थ् of पृथ्वी becomes थव्. Besides the conjuncts disjoined in Pāli by the interposition of a vowel, we have ई and ई also so treated in the Prākṛit, sometimes optionally and sometimes necessarily. Thus आदर्श becomes आभरिस or आअंस, (P. आरास); सुदर्शन, सुवरिसण or सुदंसण, (P. सुदस्सन); वर्ष, वरिस or वास, (P. वस्स); परामर्श, परामरिस (P. परामास); अमर्श, अमरिस, (P. अमस्स).

Having noticed the changes common to the Prākṛits with the Pāli, we will proceed to consider others distinctive of the former. Most of these were due to the continuous operation of processes which come into play in a living language. The Pāli exhibits but few instances of these processes. The changes observable in it are mostly to be traced to one or two vocal peculiarities of the men who spoke it. At the time when the language received the form in which we now find it, the tradition of the original Sanskrit was still distinct; the Pāli had not lived an independent life detached from its mother for a long time. But with the Prākṛits the case is different. They show a great many more instances of the usual processes, and consequently a much greater departure from the parent tongue. We will begin by noticing what may be called the softening process.

The vowels इ and उ are softened, as we have seen, to short ए and ओ before conjuncts. These latter sounds are, as indicated in the last lecture, more open than the former; that is, do not require the tongue to be raised so high as in the case of इ and उ. They are therefore softer. But since the change principally takes place before doubles, it may, I believe, be traced to their influence, as I have already observed. In that case this would be an instance of assimilation. But the change of long ई and ऊ to long ए and ओ is due to softening alone; as in पेज्ज for पीयूष, आमेल for आपीड, बहेडअ for बिभीतक, कैरिस for कीदृश, and

इरिस for ईरुच, नेड for नीड, पेड for पीड, तम्बोल for ताम्बूल, तोपीर for तूपीर, थोर for स्थूल, and गलोई for गुहूची. In the same way, इ and उ are in rare cases softened to अ, as in हलहा for हरिद्रा, पडंसुअ for प्रतिभुम्, and अहिडिल for बुधिशिर. अ requires no movement of the tongue or lips, while इ and उ do. It is therefore softer than those two vowels. Both these changes contradict another principle to be hereafter noticed, the operation of which is wide, and they must therefore be considered special or peculiar changes. The manner in which ऋ is softened has been already detailed.

The semivowel ऋ is often softened to इ, as in विअण for व्यञ्जन, थिलिअ for व्यलीक, थीण for स्थान, उव्वीठ for उद्भूट, जीआ or उवा, &c. Here the effort necessary to bring the middle of the tongue closer to the palate is economized, while the position of the organs in other respects is the same. The व of the conjunct र्य is sometimes softened in this way to इ and sometimes to इअ. In the former case the resulting इ is transferred to the previous syllable and forms ए with the अ contained in it; as in पेरन्त for पर्यन्त, अच्छेर for आश्चर्य, बम्भचेर for ब्रह्मचर्य, सुन्नेर for सौन्दर्य, &c. Similarly व is changed to उ as in सुणी for धानि, वीसुं for विश्वक्, गउभो for गवय, सुवइ for स्वपिनि, हु for द्वि, &c.

The surds are softened into sonants. The pronunciation of these requires, as you will remember, less exertion than that of the former. For sonants such as ग, घ, ङ, ध, &c., are pronounced by means of *nāda*, or vocal sound which is produced when the glottis is in its natural condition and the chords vibrate, and the surds क, ख, त्, थ, &c. are uttered by sending forth simple breath or *śvāsa*, to produce which it is necessary to stretch the glottis. This effort is saved by changing the surds to sonants. Thus क is changed to ग as in मरगअ for मरकत and गेन्नुअ for कन्दुक; द् to ड as in नड, भड, and घड, for नट, भट, and घट, and in पडि for प्रति and the other instances given above; इ to इ as in मड, सड, कमड, कुडार, and पड, for मठ, शठ, कमठ, कुडार, and पठ; and त् and थ to द् and ध as in एद for एत, नाध for नाथ &c. (in Saur.) The cerebral द् and ध resulting from the original dentals त् and थ are also similarly softened to ड and ढ as in पडि for प्रति (पटि in Pāli), पड्डि for प्रभृति, बहेडअ for बिभीतक, हरडई for हरीतकी, मडअ for मृतक, &c., and सिडिल for शिथिल, पुडवी for पृथिवी, पडम for प्रथम, &c. The sonant answering to ए is इ but this is further softened to इ, as in कुइ, कवाल, कुणइ, तवइ, &c., for कूप, कपाल, कुणप, तपनि, &c.

An original इ is softened to ल, in which case there is a saving of two efforts. The complete contact necessary for the pronunciation of

इ being avoided we have कृ. This sound is similar to कृ in the fact that the breath before the break of the contact or close approach is allowed to pass out by the sides of the tongue, but is more difficult or harder because its position being higher up, the tongue has to be raised higher than in pronouncing कृ the position of which is near the root of the upper teeth. This additional exertion is saved by proceeding from इ, at once to कृ. We have thus गरुड, तलाभ, कीलङ्ग, शालिन, गुल, नाली, for गरुड, तडाग, क्रीडति, वाडिम, गुड, नाडी, &c. In the Pāli, however, you will remember and probably in some unwritten Prākṛits also, the cerebral character of the letter was preserved and we have कृ instead of कृ. Sometimes इ is softened to इ only. The position of this is lower than that of इ and the contact is incomplete. It is therefore softer than इ but harder than कृ. This last sound is produced lower still, but a light close approach is formed, and the breath is allowed to escape by the sides of the tongue; while in uttering इ the tongue is kept in its position with greater force, and the breath is allowed to vibrate. This change is principally to be met with in the case of the इ resulting from an original इ in such words as एआरह, बारह, तेरह, &c., for एकादश, द्वादश, त्रयोदश, &c., the इ of which must first have become इ. In कलम्ब, दोहल, and पलित्त, for कलम्ब, दोहल, and प्रसीप्त, we have instances of an original इ passing into कृ. An original इ is changed to कृ which, as just observed, is softer than इ, as in हलही, हलिह, मुहल, इङ्गल, &c., for हरिद्रा, हरिद्र, मुखर, अङ्गार, &c. When the इ forming the first member of a conjunct is softened in this way, and the following member is weak, or is itself capable of becoming कृ the whole conjunct becomes कृ; as पर्यस्त becomes पल्लव-त्थ; पर्याण, पल्लण; आर्द्र, भल्ल or ओल्ल; मर्द, मल, &c. The sibilant स् which is the only one we have in the Mahārāṣṭrī and Śaurasēnī, is sometimes softened to हृ that is, the simple heavy breath somewhat compressed at the dental position is made uncompressed heavy vocal sound; as in दिवह, पाहाण, दह, एआरह, बारह, &c., for दिवस, पाषाण, दश, एकादश, द्वादश, &c.

Another phenomenon characteristic of the Prākṛits is the dropping away of single uninitial consonants. Thus कृ is dropped, as in सअड, कुम्भआर, for सकट, कुम्भकार, &c.; ग् as in नअ, नअर, साअर for नग, नगर, सागर, &c.; ज् as in वअण, मूर्ह, for वचन, सूचि, &c.; ज् as in रअअ, राभा, गअ, for रजत, राजा, गज, &c.; त् as in विआण, पआवर्ह, गअ, for वितान, प्रजापति, गत, &c.; द् as in, मअण, पाअ, कअल, for मदन, पाद, कदल, &c.; प् followed by any vowel except अ, as in रिअ, कर्ह, विडल, for

रिपु, कपि, विपुल, &c., व as in वाडपा, पभण, for वायुना, नयन, &c., इ as in जीभ, दिभह, for जीव, दिवस, &c. The vowel अ or आ that remains after the elision is when preceded by अ or आ pronounced like a light व. We find it written in Mss. also, as in सयड, तित्यवरो, नयर, &c. In the same way, the mute element of the aspirates is dropped, except in the case of the palatals and of क, the ह् or the heavy *nāda* or vocal sound being alone preserved. Thus we have मुह, लिह, सही, for मुख, लिख, सखी, &c., मेह, माह, पाहुण, for मेघ, माघ, प्रापुण, &c.; नाह, मिहुण, कहा, for नाय, मियुन, कया, &c.; बहिर, वहु, साहु, for बधिर, वधू, साधु, &c.; लाह, सोहग, सोहा, for लाभ, सौभाग्य, शोभा, &c. The range of the operation of these processes is very wide; and the number of words transformed in accordance with them is very large. Now, the principle which is at the bottom of this elision of consonants is the same as that which brings about softening, viz., economy of exertion. But in a growing language which knows of no accidents in the course of its history, there is another principle which counteracts this, viz., the necessity of pronouncing words in a manner to be understood by others. Hence a wholesale elision is impossible; and the natural course is to soften sounds away, until finally they are elided. This of course must be a very slow process. But in the Prākṛit, and especially the Mahārāṣṭrī, we do not find it to be slow. Elision seems to be a distinguishing characteristic which strikes one very forcibly on reading a Prākṛit passage. It is too regular, systematic, and far-reaching, to have been the product of a long course of softening. In fact, because it is so systematic and general, some writers have doubted whether the Prākṛits were genuine dialects, and have expressed their belief that they are the creation of Pandits. But we shall find that the modern vernaculars retain the words shorn of their elements by the Prākṛits in this way; and that these latter dialects were the immediate parents of those we now speak in Northern India. If this general mutilation of words was brought about by a natural decay, we must suppose the process to have gone on for a great many centuries. The Prākṛit vocables that have descended to the modern vernaculars have not, since the period when the Prākṛits arose, about fourteen centuries ago, suffered at all so much as Sanskrit words in passing into the Prākṛits. We have not dropped away any of the elements of Prākṛit vocables, though we may have re-arranged them in some cases. If, then, fourteen centuries have not been sufficient to make words lose any of their elements by the action of natural causes, the process by which Sanskrit words were muti-

lated and became Prâkrit must, if it was natural and ordinary, have been in operation for a considerably longer period, a supposition which appears extremely improbable. And it is questionable whether a language which has not been exposed to accidents in the course of its history suffers so much, even after the lapse of any conceivable time. The Teutonic languages, though they have been going through an independent course of development since the period when the ancestors of the modern English and Germans separated from the ancestors of the Hindus in pre-historic ages, have preserved the elements of old Aryan vocables which the Prâkrits lost. They may have transformed the words, but have not mutilated them to any great extent. The English words *father*, *mother*, *brother*, *foot*, and others, have all the elements of the old पित्र्, मातृ, भ्रातृ, पद् (पाद्), and others; while the Prâkrit पिआ or पिउ, माआ, माइ or माउ, भाआ or भाउ, and पाअ, and the modern vernacular पिउ, माउ, मा, माई, भाई, भाऊ, and पा or पाव have lost all except the first consonantal sound. The elision of consonants on a large scale in the Prâkrits is therefore to be accounted for in another way than by attributing it to a natural process of decay. The Prâkrit words must be taken to represent the pronunciation of the corresponding Sanskrit words by an alien race. The vocal organs of the people of that race were unused to the utterance of Sanskrit sounds, and in this respect they were in the condition of children making their first attempts at articulate speech, and elided uninitial consonantal sounds and assimilated conjunct consonants as these do. When a child or a barbarous foreigner listens to an elderly or more civilized person, he has not the patience to attend to all the sounds composing a word and to reproduce them carefully, or has not acquired the habit of doing so. The first letter only makes a strong impression on his ear, and this he faithfully reproduces; and as to the rest, he realizes their quantity by pronouncing the vowels, but his tongue being untrained, the peculiar movements necessary for uttering the consonantal sounds he cannot go through, and avoids. In going over the Pâli we had to attribute the assimilation of conjuncts and other peculiarities observable in that dialect to such a cause; and now the elision in the Prâkrits that we have been considering must, I believe, be accounted for in the same way.

Another process which transforms the words of a language is assimilation. We have already discussed the assimilation of the members of a conjunct and of the diphthongal sounds ऐ and औ, and will

now consider the application of the process to the different syllables composing a word. The अ of the second syllable of ईषत्, वेतस, and कृपण, is changed to इ, because the vowel in the first is इ or ए, the क् of कृपण being changed to इ; and we have ईसि, वेतसि, and कृपिण. Similarly, the अ of मरिच and बल्ली, and the इ of इक्षु are changed to इ, ए, and उ through the influence of the following इ, ई, and उ; and the forms are मरिचि, वेल्ली, and उक्षु. Sometimes, when इ as a member of a conjunct is changed to a palatal, it influences the preceding vowel and brings it over to its own position, as in सेञ्जा for शट्जा, मञ्जिम for मञ्चम, गेञ्ज for गाञ्ज, &c. An original palatal also produces similar effect, as in जिमइ or जेमइ for जमति. In the words पुडम for प्रयम, पोम्म for पच, and ओप्पेइ for अर्पवति, the adjoining vowel is changed to उ to make it go easily with the labial प. You will observe that it is अ that yields so readily to the influence of an adjoining letter, because in pronouncing it no movement of the tongue is necessary. It is sounded by letting off *nāda* or intonated breath, without offering any obstruction to it; and this current gives rise to the different vowels when it is obstructed in various degrees by various movements of the tongue and the lips; so that if the organic position of the previous consonant remains a little longer, or if the following is begun a little earlier, the अ current assumes the form that that position gives it. An aspirate or an aspirated mute existing in a word influences an adjoining vowel or a consonant; that is the heavy breath that is necessary for the utterance of the aspirate mingles itself with the other sounds also. Thus कासित becomes कासित्; पुरुष, फरुस; परिच, फलिह; परिखा, फलिहा; पनस, फणस; and बिसिनी, बिसिणी, in which instances क्, प् and ब् are changed to ख्, फ्, and भ्. In other cases the heavy breath is transferred to an adjoining vowel which becomes इ; as in फलिह for स्फटिक, निहस for निकष, विहत्थी for वितस्ति, वसही for वसति, भरह for भरत, in which cases by the dropping of the mute we should have, but for this heavy breath, फलिअ, निअस, विअत्थी, वसई, and भरअ. The words सटा and शकट become सटा and सअट, the इ resulting from the transference of the heavy breath being softened to इ.

Another kind of assimilation must be noticed here. The vowels are open sounds and the consonants close. These being used together, the openness of the former has a tendency to diminish to assimilate them to the latter, and the closeness of the latter has a similar tendency to yield to the openness of the former. This latter change involves economy and is the same as softening; त् and प् for instance become more and more like

vowels when they are changed to इ and ए, and thence to ल and व, ; while the latter ultimately does become the vowel उ. But the former does not involve softening in itself but rather hardening, since ए or इ, and ओ or उ, to which अ is sometimes changed, occasion motions of the tongue and the lips which the latter does not. But in this change there is an ease of pronunciation such as is involved in assimilation. Immediately after one closing of the passage of the breath, it is easier to make a shorter opening for it such as इ and उ require before another closing, than a longer one such as the pronunciation of ए and ओ requires, or a complete one such as is necessary for अ. This last vowel therefore has a tendency to pass off into ए and इ, or ओ and उ. But whether the shorter opening is to be made at the middle of the palate or at the lips, that is, whether अ is to be changed to ए and इ, or ओ and उ depends on the vocal habits of a people. Some are accustomed to open their lips and round them, others not. Similarly, whether the opening shall be the least possible or a little more, that is, whether अ is to be changed to ए and ओ first, and then to इ, or उ, or at once to इ or उ depends upon habit. And the ease of pronunciation involved in this kind of assimilation is also relative. Some people may feel the muscular effort required for इ and उ to be more intolerable than the wider or complete opening, and prefer ए and ओ or even अ, as in the instances given under vowel softening, and in others occurring in some of the modern vernaculars. The Prakrits change अ to इ in virtue of this law of assimilation, as in पिक for पक, इङ्गल for अङ्गार, मुइङ्ग of मृङ्ग, सिविण for स्वम, and णिडाल for ललाट ; and to ए in गेन्वुअ for कन्वुक, एत्थ for अत्र, वेक्ख for ब्रह्म, &c.

Opposed to this process of assimilation is dissimilation. When the same vowel occurs in two successive syllables, it is felt to be burdensome, and hence a dissimilar vowel is substituted for it in one of the two. We have thus बहेडअ for विभीतक, सडिल for सिधिल, पुहवी for पुथिवी, मउल, मउड and मउर, for मुकुल, मुकुट and मुकुर, भिउडी for भुकुटी, पुरिस for पुरुष, निउर or नेउर for नूपुर, दुअल्ल for दुकूल, सोअमल्ल for सौकुमार्य, अगुरु for अगुरु, गलोई for गुडूची, and गरुअ for गुरुक. The words अङ्गुवी and हरडई for इङ्गुवी and हरीतकी must also be considered as instances of the same law, though another syllable intervenes between the two containing the same vowel. Instances of this process must necessarily be few, since there are not many words containing the same vowel in successive syllables. But we have got so many here, that the substitution of a dissimilar vowel in such cases may be considered a

general characteristic of the Prākṛits. It will also be seen that in these instances, अ is substituted for इ throughout, and for उ mostly; so that these may also be considered as instances in which the most open sound अ was preferred by the Prākṛit speakers to इ or उ, as involving less exertion.

The first अ of समृद्धि, प्रसिद्धि, प्रकट, प्रतिपद्, सवृक्ष, &c., is lengthened optionally; and we have सामिद्धि or समिद्धि, पासिद्धि or पसिद्धि, प-पाभड प-पाडिव, स-सारिच्छ, &c. On the other hand, the आ of यथा, तथा, उत्खात संस्थापित, प्राकृत, हालिक, कुमार &c. is optionally shortened; and these words become जह-हा, तह-हा, उत्खअ-खाअ, संठाविअ-ठाविअ, पअड-पाअड, हलिअ-हलिअ, कुमर-मार &c. The ई of पानीय, अलीक, जीवति, गभीर, द्वितीय, तृतीय, &c., is necessarily shortened, and we have पाणिअ, अलिअ, जिवइ, गहिर, हुइअ, तइअ &c. Changes of this nature seem to be due to some kind of accent with which the words must have been pronounced. When one of the syllables of a word is accented, the whole vocal weight of that word gravitates towards that syllable. It is sounded with greater force and pitch and with a jerk which are apt to cause a wider opening between the organs of speech than is necessary. Hence the less open vowels अ, इ, and उ have a tendency to become more open, i.e., आ, ए, and ओ. Similarly the force and the jerk tend to prolong the time occupied by the utterance of the vowel, that is, to lengthen it. And long vowels occurring, in the unaccented syllables often become short, since they are uttered hurriedly or carelessly. Supposing प्रतिपद् was pronounced with the accent on प्र, that would be a reason why the प्र should become प्रा in the course of time; and if द्वितीय was pronounced with the accent on य, we can understand why the ती should become short. But the real nature of the old Sanskrit accents, notwithstanding the labours of the grammarians, is little understood. How words were actually pronounced in this respect it is difficult to say. If the *udātta* was really the acute accent, it falls in some of the above words on syllables by being on which it could not have operated in the manner indicated above. The supposition that the *svarita* was the acute accent fails equally. But perhaps the old accents went out of use very early, and others took up their place. Whatever may have been the case, the changes we have been considering seem to have risen from an accent of some sort. The ए of वेदना, चपेटा, देवर, and केसर is optionally changed to इ; for supposing that the accent fell on the second or third syllable, the force necessary to pronounce it could not be successfully exerted if the mouth had to be previously opened wide for sounding ए. It is

thus reduced to the close vowel इ; and so we have विअण, चविडा, दिअर and किसर. The dropping of initial vowels as in रण्ण for अरण्य and लावू for अलावू must also be traced to those vowels being unaccented.

There are several instances in these dialects of the interchange of consonants. The word सुषा becomes सुण्हा, while regularly it ought to be ण्हसा; ण्ह and स् thus interchange places. Similarly, करेणू is transformed to कणेरू, वाराणसी to वाणारसी, अचलपुर to अलचपुर, आलान to आणाल, लघु to हलु (लह् also being used), महाराष्ट्र to मरहह, &c. In the case of विच्छुअ for वृश्चिक we have an interchange of vowels, for the उ resulting from च्च is transferred to श्च and its इ to व. In ordinary life we often find that a man speaking hastily makes the sounds of a word thus interchange places. When several people happen to do so in the case of particular words, the new transformations come in the course of time to be regarded as the true words and acquire a recognized position.

The Prâkrîts sometimes change a labial to the nasal of its class, as in नीम for नीप, आमेल for आपीड, कमन्ध for कबन्ध, नीमी for नीवि, समर for शबर, and सिमिण for स्वम. These are optional changes; the forms of the words with व or ब instead of म also existing. Though the change involves softening, since a portion of the breath is sent through the nose and the force of the contact weakened, it must be attributed to a tendency to speak through the nose. Similarly, they introduced an *anusvâra* into words which did not originally contain it; where also the breath was discharged through the mouth as well as the nose. In this manner, वक्र became वंक; अशु, अंसु; इमशु, मंसु; स्पर्श, फंस; पुच्छ, पुंछ; मूर्धा, मुंदा; बुध्, बुंध; वर्शन, वंसण; वृश्चिक, विलुअ; मज्जार, मंजार; प्रतिशुत्, पडंसु-आ &c. The last syllable of the absolutive termination ऊण and of the case endings एण and एसु is also sometimes nasalized, as in काऊण or काऊण for कृत्वा, and वच्छेणं or ण and वच्छेसुं or सु for वृक्षेण and वृक्षेसु. On the other hand, the existing *anusvâra* of a few words is dropped probably from a feeling that its existence in those words was due to a mistake and from a desire to correct it. Thus we have मास or मंस for मांस, कास or कंस for कांस्य, पासु or पंसु for पांसु, शणि or शणि for श्वानी, and णं or ण as the termination of the gen. pl. The letter ल् is in a few cases optionally, sometimes necessarily, transformed into ण्, as in णाहल or लाहल, णङ्गल or लङ्गल, णङ्गल or लङ्गल, and णडाल or णिडाल, for लाहल, लाङ्गल, लाङ्गल, and ललाट. In the last instance ट् is softened and made to exchange its place with the second ल्, and the अ of ण

becomes **ह** optionally. This also points to the Prākṛit characteristic of speaking through the nose.

The remarks I have hitherto made apply to the Mahārāṣṭrī or the principal Prākṛit. The Śaurasenī differs from it in but a few particulars. It does not drop **त्** and **श्** but softens them into **ह्** and **ध्**, as in **पुरिह्**, **मारुहि**, **तथा**, **नाथ**, &c., for **पूरित**, **मारुति**, **तथा**, **नाथ**, &c. The conjunct **न्व** is often changed to **न्**, as in **निषिन्वो**, **अन्वेडर** for **निश्चिन्त**, **अन्तःपुर**, &c. In addition to these peculiarities, in the Magadhī the **इ** and **ख** of the principal Prākṛit are represented by **लृ** and **खृ**, as in **नल**, **कल**, **द्यालद्य**, **पुलिद्य**, for **नर**, **कर**, **सारस**, **पुरुष**, &c. The **ख** of a conjunct is not assimilated but preserved, and the **ह** changed to **ख**, as in **प्रखलदि हस्ती** for **प्रखलति हस्ती**, **शुष्क शलु** for **शुष्क शरु**, **कस्ट** for **कट**, &c. The double **इ** and the conjunct **ड** are changed to **स्**, and **स्य** and **र्य** to **स्त**; **इ** and **श्** being thus softened to **ह** and **त्**. Thus we have **भस्टालिका** for **भटारिका**, **खलु** for **खटु**, **उवस्तिह्** for **उपस्थित**, **द्यस्तवाह** for **सार्यवाह**, &c. The consonant **ञ** whether original or derived, as in the Prākṛit corruptions of **द्य** or **द्यै**, was pronounced lightly, that is softened to **ह्**, as in **याणादि** for **जानाति**, **अद्य** for **अद्य**, &c. The conjuncts **ज्**, **न्व**, and **ण्व** are, as before mentioned, changed to **उम्**, as in Pāli; and **च्व** to **च**, as in **गच**, **पुच** for **गच्छ**, **पृच्छ**, &c. The **ह्** of **मेह** and **चह** is changed to **स्**, as in **वेस्कदि** for **मेक्षते** and **आचस्कदि** for **आचक्षते**. In the Pāisāchī, the changes of single consonants that we have noticed in the case of the Mahārāṣṭrī and Śaurasenī do not take place; that is, the consonants are not dropped or softened, nor are they transformed by the process of assimilation. The dentals are not changed to cerebrals, but the original Sanskrit cerebrals are optionally changed to dentals, as in **कुमुम्बक** or **कुदम्बक** for **कुदम्बक**; and an original **क्** to **त्** throughout, as in **गुनगन** for **गुणगण**. The sonant **ह** is hardened to **ह्**, as in **सामीतर** for **सामोदर**, **पतेस** for **प्रदेद्य**, &c. The sibilants are changed to **स्** as in Pāli and the principal Prākṛit, and **ज्** and **न्व** to **उम्** as in the former. In the Chūlikā Pāisāchī, the sonants are throughout changed to surds, as in **नकर**, **मकन**, **मेख**, **वक्ख**, **राच्चा**, **चीम्ल**, &c., for **नगर**, **मार्गण**, **मेघ**, **ध्वाघ्न**, **राजा**, **जीम्ल**, &c. Phonetically the Pāisāchī appears to be in nearly the same condition as the Pāli, but the hardening of sonants is peculiar, and may be compared to the change of Sanskrit sonants to surds in the Teutonic languages, as in *foot* for **पद्**, *tooth* for **दन्त**, *know* for **ज्ञा**, &c. Such changes involve no economy whatever; and like the change of dentals to cerebrals they must be attributed to certain peculiarities of the vocal organs. Even in the operation of the usual processes we have, as you

will have seen, found very wide scope for the play of similar special aptitudes. The characteristic of the dialect we have been considering of not changing dentals to cerebrals as the Pâli and the Prâkrîts do, and even the dentalizing of cerebrals, would appear to be truly Âryan. Perhaps then this was the language of an Âryan tribe that had remained longer in the original seat of the race, and was connected with the ancestors of the Teutons, so as to develop a phonetic peculiarity resembling theirs, and emigrated to India at a very late period and settled on the borders. Or it might be that the tribe came to India along with the others, but living in the mountainous countries on the border in a sort of rude independence, it developed this peculiarity of pronunciation which to my mind betokens a rude and uncontrollable force of breath. Since under this supposition they could not have come in very close contact with their more civilized brethren of the plains, their language did not undergo some of those phonetic modifications which Sanskrit underwent in the mouths of the aboriginal races. And in a Sanskrit verse quoted by Mr. Ellis in his preface to Campbell's Grammar of the Telugu language, the countries where the Paisâchi is said to have prevailed are such border countries as Gândhâra or Afghanistan, Nepal, Bâhlika or Balk, &c.*

We will now proceed to examine the Grammar of the Prâkrîts.

As in the Pâli the dual and the dat. case are wanting. The termination of the instr. pl. is हि, the other Pâli मि having disappeared. The ablative pl. which was lost in the older dialect is made up by adding लो, Skr. लस्, to the हि of the instr. pl., which was used in Pâli for the abl., and to सु, the termination of the locative, and using हिन्लो and सुन्लो as the terminations for all nouns. This लो in the form of लो and लु is also used to form the abl. sing. of all nouns. This is according to Vararuchi. But Hemachandra gives लो and लु as the Sauraseni terminations, and ओ and उ as those in the principal Prâkrit, which is according to the usual phonetic rules. This grammarian gives लो as an additional termination for both numbers, and extends ओ and उ to the plural also, and हिन्लो to the singular.† In Prâkrit, sometimes consonants are doubled even when there is no conjunct in the original Skr.

* Names of other countries in Central or Southern India also occur: but the reading of the verse is evidently corrupt.

† I shall in all my observations on the Prâkrîts follow Hemachandra, since he is full and explicit. Vararuchi is indistinct in several cases, and his rules on that account have been misunderstood by all writers who have followed him: and he is incomplete.

Hence we have *चो*; and the reason why this and *वो* and *दु* or *ओ* and *उ* are extended to the plural is that in Skr. the expression made up of a noun and this termination has both senses; as *ग्रामतः* may mean *from a village* or *villages*. The gen. sing. *स्स* from the *स्व* of Sanskrit nouns in *अ* is generalized as in Pāli and applied to all masc. and neut. nouns; and the pl. is formed by the old Skr. term. *नाम्* Prākṛitized to *णं*, as in the older dialect. The Pāli pronominal abl. *स्मा* or *म्हा*, has disappeared, and the loc. *स्मि* or *म्हि* has assumed the form of *स्मि* and is used for all nouns of the masc. and neut. genders as in the other language. The voc. pl. is as in Skr. and Pāli the same as the Nom. pl.

Masculine Nouns in अ. The nom., acc., and instr. cases of nouns in *अ* are the same as in Pāli; but here the nom. pl. form *वञ्छा* is optionally transferred to the acc. pl. also, thus giving another instance of the strong tendency to confuse the nom. and acc. that I have spoken of. The dat. sing. in *आब* like that in Pāli, is preserved in solitary instances in which it has the sense of "for the sake of." The abl. sing. besides the general forms mentioned above has the old one ending in *आ*, as in Pāli, and a new one in *आहि* which is used in the plural also. This *आहि* is used in Sanskrit in the words *क्षिणाहि* and *उत्तराहि*,* which have an ablative signification. It must in its origin be considered the same as the instr. termination *त्रिस्*. The loc. sing. besides the general form has, as in Pāli, the old one in *ए*. The voc. sing. has also the two Pāli forms *देव*, *देवा*, and another *देवो* the same as the nom. sing.

—**Nouns in इ and उ.** The nom. pl. has a form made up according to the analogy of neuter nouns or nouns ending in *इन्*; as *अग्निणो* and *साहुणो*. This does not exist in the Pāli, the analogy being there extended to the gen. and loc. sing. only. The Prākṛit has also the two Pāli forms *अग्गी* and *अग्गवो* which latter is transformed into *अग्गओ* and *अग्गउ*, and *साहु* and *साहवो*, the latter appearing also in the form of *साहओ* and *साहउ*. The acc. pl. has also the neuter form *अग्निणो* or *साहुणो* in addition to the Pāli *अग्गी* or *साहु*. Besides the general forms mentioned above, the abl. has in the sing. the neuter form *अग्निणो* or *साहुणो* also. The Pāli loc. sing. *अग्निणि* does not appear. The other forms of these nouns are like those in the older dialect. The voc. sing. is *अग्गि* or *साहु* as in Pāli, and *अग्गी* or *साहु*. We here see the analogy of neuter nouns or nouns ending in *इन्* extended to all vowel cases except the loc. sing.

—**Nouns in ऋ.** Two bases, one ending in *आर* as in *भचार* from *भृ*,

* Prof. Lassen derives them differently.

and the other in उ as भुत्, are used, the former throughout all the cases and the latter in all except the sing. of the nom. and acc. The first is declined like nouns in अ, and the second like those in उ as साहु. The nom. sing. has also the old form भत्ता. In the Pāli, you will remember, the first base is used in the plural of four cases, and the second in the gen. sing. only; while the singulars of three cases have the old Sanskrit forms. Here the two bases have been extended much further and one old form only that of the nom. sing. remains. Nouns expressive of relationship such as पिद्, भ्राद् and जामाद् are declined similarly, the final syllable आर being shortened to अर as it is in Sanskrit and Pāli in those cases where the base is used. The voc. sing is भत्त, and of the latter class of nouns it ends in अ or अर, as पिअ or पिअर.

—Nouns in अन् अत् (*present participle*), वत्, मत् &c. राजन् has four bases. The old one राजन् with the old Sanskrit forms only phonetically corrupted (ज् becoming ण्) is used in all the singulars except that of the loc. and in the nom. pl.; as राआ, राआणो, राआण, रणा, रणो and रणो. In Pāli it is used in the loc. sing. and gen. pl. also. The second राज, Prākṛitised into राअ, is used in both numbers of all cases except the nom. sing., and in Pāli in all except the nom. sing. and pl. and the acc. pl. It is declined like a noun in अ; as राआ nom. pl., राअ acc. sing., राआ-राए acc. pl., राएण instr. sing., &c. The third राजिन् is employed in the gen. sing. in the older dialect; but here, as राइन्, in all cases and numbers except the nom. sing. It is declined like an ordinary Sanskrit noun in इन्; as राइणो nom. and acc. pl., राइण acc. sing., राइणा instr. sing., &c. The fourth is राजान, Pr. राआण, used in all cases and both numbers. Vararuchi, however, does not give this, and omits the others in some of the cases. This base is unknown to Pāli, but occurs in the word आत्मन् in the form of अत्ताण, and is used in the plurals of the instr. and loc., while here it is extended to all cases. This noun and such others ending in अन् are in the Prākṛit declined like राजन्; the base in आण is general to all and used throughout, but the others occur in certain cases only. The voc. sing. of राजन् is राअ or राअ in the Śaurasenī, the former of which does not occur in the Mahārāṣṭrī. The base of the present participles ends in अन्त and they are declined like nouns in अ. The Pāli you will remember uses the old base in some of the cases and has the old forms; but here they have disappeared. Similarly वत् and मत् become वन्त and मन्त throughout, i.e., end in अ. Other final consonants are dropped and in feminine nouns sometimes आ is added.

Feminine and Neuter Nouns.—The Prākṛit feminine declension differs from the Pāli in little more than a phonetic corruption of the terminations. The **ञ** of the instr. abl. gen. and loc. of nouns in **आ**, and the **या** of those in **इ** or **ई**, are weakened into **ए** or **इ** or dropped, leaving only **अ** and **आ**. In the latter class of nouns this **आ** is further optionally shortened to **अ**. Thus we have **मालाए-इ-अ-** and **नईए-इ-आ-अ**, &c. The optional loc. forms in **यं** are lost; and the **यो** of the nom. plurals **मालायो** and **नदियो** leaves only the vowel **ओ** which is again shortened to **उ**. The abl. forms in **सो-दु** or **ओ-उ** are of course new. Fem. nouns in **ञ** substitute **आ** for the final and are declined like nouns in **आ**; as **नपन्ना, नपन्नाओ**, &c. **मातृ** however has another base **मातरा** when it signifies a “goddess.” In the Pāli four bases are used, the old one, **मातर**, declined like masc. nouns in **अ मातु**, and **माता**. This last is used in the gen. pl. only along with **मातरान्**, and **मातृन्**. The nom. and acc. of neuter nouns in **अ** are in the Prākṛit the same as in Skr. only phonetically corrupted, as **वणं** sing., **वणा-ई-ई-णि** pl.; while the sing. of those in **इ** and **उ** have an anusvāra optionally attached to them, as **वहि** or **वहिं** sing., **वहीई-इ-णि**, pl. The optional Pāli plurals in **आ** and **ए** are lost. Sanskrit neuter nouns in **अन्** and **अस्** become nouns in **अ**, and are masculine.

Pronouns.—The nom. pl. in **ए** is preserved, as in **सव्वे, जे** &c. The gen. pl. has **सिं** for its termination formed by adding a light **इ** to the **साम्** of Sanskrit, which according to the usual rules should be corrupted to **सं**, and is also formed upon the model of the corresponding nouns; as **सव्वेसिं** or **सव्वाप-णं, जेसिं** or **जाण-णं**, &c. The Pāli has **सं**, and its double gen. **सानं** is wanting. The loc. sing. has the termination **स्सिं**, a form not existing in the older dialect, in addition to the **स्मिं** used for nouns, both of which are to be traced to the Śkr. **स्मिन्**, as in **सव्वस्सिं** or **सव्वस्मिं, जस्सिं** or **जस्मिं**, &c. This **स्सिं** is further changed to **हिं** as in **सव्वहिं, जहिं**, &c., or better, this latter may be traced to the Pāli **मिह**. Another loc. sing. term. is **एथ** which represents **य**, as **सव्वएथ, जएथ**, &c. The abl. sing. **स्मात्** is optionally used after **कस्स, यद्**, and **तद्** only, in the form of **म्हा**, as **कम्हा, जम्हा**, and **तम्हा**; in Pāli it is necessarily used after all pronouns. In other respects pronouns are declined like the corresponding nouns; as **सव्वं, सव्वे** acc., **सव्वेण, सव्वेहिं** instr., **सव्वत्तो सो-दु, सव्वाहिन्तो-सुन्तो** abl. The instr. sing. is optionally formed like that of nouns in **इ** in the case of some; as **इमिणा, जिणा** &c. You will thus observe, that except in the nom. pl., there is no distinction between the two declensions; the peculiar pronominal forms I have mentioned being

only optional. Of the fem. of तद्, यद्, and किम्, the gen. sing. is optionally तिस्सा or तीसे &c., where the base is ती &c. The other forms are like those of nouns in ई, as तीआ-ई-ए &c. This base is used throughout along with the other in आ. In Pāli it is used in the gen. and loc. sing. only along with the other, and the gen. forms are तिस्सा and तिस्साय, the latter of which is as I have said a double genitive. This the Prākṛit has preserved in the form of तीसे, originally तिस्से, where the ए represents the य of the older dialect, as it does in the feminine nouns. The other base of किम् and तद् has also its genitive singular in स, as तास, formed by transferring the masc. termination; or it is to be traced to तस्सा. The genitive plural forms of the masc. such as तेसि and ताण are also sometimes used in a feminine sense. The loc. sing. of किम्, यद्, and तद् is optionally formed by extending the masc. termination हि to the base in आ, as ताहि &c. These peculiarities are only optional; so that the feminine pronouns are declined like nouns in आ or ई. Thus we have जा, जाओ-उ, जीओ-उ nom., जं, जाओ-उ, जीओ-उ acc., जिणा, जाहिं, जीहिं instr., जासो-नु, जीसो-नु, जाहिन्तो-सुन्तो, जीहिन्तो-सुन्तो &c. abl. जस्सा, जिस्सा, जीसे, जासं, जासि, जेसि, जाण, जीसि, जीणं gen., जाहिं, जासु, जीसु loc. The optional instr., abl., gen., and loc. singulars are जाए-इ-अ and जीए-इ-आ-अ.

The pronoun न in the form of ण exists as in the Pāli; इद्म् has two bases, इम् which is used throughout, as इमो, इमे nom., इमं, इमे acc., इमेण-निणा, इमेहि, instr. &c., and अ from which we have optionally अअं nom. sing., अस्स and अस्सि, gen. and loc. sing., and एहिं and एसु instr. and loc. plural, and आहिं instr. pl. of the feminine. इमो, इमस्स, इमस्सि &c. are also in use. The base अ is used in the Pāli in the instr. sing., gen. pl., and abl. sing. also. The demonstrative अद्स् has one base only अम्, which is declined like nouns in उ; as अम्, अम्णो nom., अम् अम्णो acc., अम्णा, अम्हिं instr., &c. The pronoun of the second person has, according to Vararuchi, five bases त, तुम् or तुम, तुज्झ, तुम्ह, तुम्म, वो and भे. The first is derived from the स्व of त्वम्; तुम् or तुम from the same with the व softened to उ; तुज्झ from तुभ्यम् through the intermediate Pāli form तुय्हं, the last conjunct of which is changed to ज्झ, by a rule formerly given; तुम्ह is made up by putting together the तु of the singular and the स्म of the plural, as explained in going over the Pāli; तुम्म is another form of तुम्ह; वो is the old Sanskrit वस्; and भे seems to be derived from the भे of तुम्हे as वढ्मण is from ब्राह्मण. Hemachandra adds तुब्म, to be derived from the Sanskrit तुभ्यम् or from तुम्ह, म्ह being changed to ष्म; उज्झ from तुज्झ by the dropping of त्;

तुह् and उह् other forms of तुभ्यम् ; तुव् from त्व by the insertion of उ ; तुह् from तुह् ; उह् by the dropping of the त् of तुह् ; and उह् by treating तुह् in the same way. The Pāli has only त्, तु, and तुम् ; and the several old forms it had are lost in the Prākṛit. Nominal terminations are used in a good many cases. Thus we have तं, तुं, तुवं, तुह्, and तुमं for the nom. sing., these and तुए and तुमे for the acc. sing., तद्, तए, तुमद्, तुमए, तुमं, तुमाद्, and also तुमं, मे, ते, हे, and हि for the instr. sing. The form तुमं properly belongs to the nom. and acc. cases and ते to the gen., हे and हि being only ते softened ; but the several cases are here confounded. The abl. sing. has तद्दत्तो-ओ-उ-वो-वु-हि-हिन्तो, तुवत्तो-ओ &c., तुमत्तो-ओ &c., तुहत्तो-ओ &c., तुम्हत्तो-ओ &c., तुज्जत्तो-ओ &c., also तुह्, तुह्, तुम्ह, and तुज्ज. The gen. sing. has twenty-one for ms, viz. तद्दत्तं, ते, तुह्, तुहं, तुव, तुम, तुमे, तुमो, तुमा, इ, हि, हे, इ, ए, तुह्, उह्, उह्, तुम्ह, तुज्ज, उह्, and उज्ज. The loc. sing. has तुमे, तुमए, तुमाद्, तद्, तए, तुमि, तुवमि, तुममि, तुहमि, तुहमि, तुम्हमि, and तुज्जमि. The plurals are as follows :—मे, तुम्हे, उज्जे, तुम्ह, तुम्हे, उह्, तुम्हे, तुज्जे nom.; वो, तुम्हे, उज्जे, तुम्हे, तुज्जे, तुम्हे, उह्, मे acc. ; मे, तुम्हेहि, तुज्जेहि, तुम्हेहि, उज्जेहि, उम्हेहि, तुम्हेहि and उह्हेहि instr. ; तुहत्तो-वो-वु-हिन्तो-उन्तो, तुहत्तो-वो &c., उहत्तो-वो &c., उम्हत्तो-वो &c., तुम्हत्तो-वो &c., and तुज्जत्तो-वो &c. abl., मे, तुह्, तुह्, उह्, तुम्हाण-णं, तुवाण-णं, तुमाण-णं तुहाण-णं, तुम्हाण-णं, तुम्ह, तुज्ज, उह्, उज्ज, तुज्जाण-णं, gen., तुह्, तुव-वेह्, तुम-मेह्, तुह-हेह्, तुह्-भा-म्हेह्, तुम्ह-म्हा-म्हेह्, तुज्ज-ज्जा-ज्जेह् loc. The points to be observed in these forms are these. The nom. sing. has mostly the same forms as the acc. sing. This is due to the fact that the Sanskrit त्वाम् of the acc. becomes, when the आ is shortened by a Prākṛit phonetic rule, त्वं i. e., the same as the nom. sing. Hence its Prākṛit representatives तं, तुं, तुवं and तुमं are the same for both the cases. But a more probable reason, which explains a similar fact in the case of the first personal pronoun also, is that the plurals of the nom. and acc. having by natural processes already explained become exactly alike, the two cases came to be confounded ; and the sing. forms also of the one were used for the other. The forms तद्, तए, तुमद्, तुमए, तुमे, and तुमाद् are common to the instr. and loc. sing. This probably arises from the fact that the Sanskrit त्वया, when the य is softened to ए or इ, becomes तए or तद्, and so does the त्वयि of the loc. ; and when the base त् is seen to be interchangeable with तुम् in the nom., the terminations ए and इ which are common to the two cases are applied to तुम् also. ते and its softened forms हे and हि, and तद् are common to

the instr. and gen. sing.; तुय्, तुभ्, तुम्ह, तुज्झ are common to the abl. sing. and the gen. sing. and pl.; and ते to the instr. sing. and pl. and the gen. sing. Such a confusion of the case-relations must be expected in course of time. Even in Sanskrit the gen. and ins. &c., are used alike in connection with some participles; and the identification of the abl. and the instr. we have already noticed in the Prâkrîts. The gen. forms तुय्, तुभ्, तुम्ह, तुज्झ, उय्, उम्ह, and उज्झ, all derived from the Sanskrit dat. तुभ्यम् and referred to the gen. when that case was lost, are taken as bases, and the terminations ए of the nom. and acc. pl. हि of the instr. pl., लो, लो, दु, ओ, and उ of the abl., ए or ए of the gen. pl., and, म्मि and सु of the loc. sing. and pl. are tacked on to them to form these cases. Here the tendency to use the genitive form as a base for the formation of the other cases a trace of which only we observed in the Pâli is seen more developed.

The pronoun of the first person has, according to Vararuchi, the following bases:—हं or अहं and म from the Sanskrit singulars, मम the gen. sing., अम्ह from अस्म and पो from नस्, of which अम्ह is used in the plural. Hemachandra adds मह and मज्झ from मह्यम्, and ते from म्हे or स्मे. He also gives अम्हि, अम्मि, and म्मि for the nom. sing. and अम्मि for the acc. sing. The first is clearly from अस्मि 1st pers. sing. present of अस्, often used in Sanskrit as an indeclinable particle; and the others are also corruptions of the same just as the termination म्मि of the loc. is a corruption of स्मिन्. The singular forms, therefore, are:—अम्मि, म्मि, अम्हि, हं, अहं, अहं नोम.; ए, ए, मि, अम्मि, अम्ह, मम्ह, मं, ममं, मिमं, अहं acc.; मि, मे, ममं, ममए, ममाह, मह, मए, मबाह, ए instr.; महन्तो-लो-दु-ओ-उ-हि-हिन्तो, ममन्तो &c., महन्तो &c., मज्झन्तो &c., abl., मे, मह, मम, मह, महं, मज्झ, मज्झं, अम्ह, अम्हं gen.; मि, मह, ममाह, मए, मे, अम्हम्मि, ममम्मि, महम्मि, loc. The plurals are:—अम्ह, अम्हे, अम्हो, लो, वं, मे, nom., अम्हे, अम्हो, अम्ह, ए, acc.; अम्हेहिं, अम्हाहि, अम्ह, अम्हे. ए instr.; ममन्तो, अम्हन्तो, ममाहिन्तो-सुन्तो, अम्हाहिन्तो-सुन्तो, ममेसुन्तो, अम्हेसुन्तो abl., ए, ए, मज्झ, अम्ह, अम्हं, अम्हे, अम्हो, अम्हाए, ममाए, ममाए, मज्झाए gen., अम्ह-म्हा-म्हेसु-मम-मेसु, मह-हेसु, मज्झ-ज्झेसु loc. Here also the same observations as those made in the case of the last pronoun are applicable.

In the Mâgadhi the ओ of the nom. sing. of nouns ending in अ is replaced by ए; as एओ पुल्लो for एष पुरुषः. The स्त of the gen. sing. is sometimes changed to ह and the preceding अ is lengthened; as ओपिहाह कुम्मे for ओपिहाह कुम्भः. The plural of this case is formed by adding आहं, as कम्माहं for कर्मणाम्. The anusvâra represents the ए of the original termination आप, and ह is introduced from the analogy of the

sing. The regular forms *लोपिदस्स* and *कम्माण* are also admissible. Such forms as these we shall meet with hereafter; and they belong to a later stage in the decay of our grammar.

Conjugations.—All the Skr. conjugations, with the exception of the second in the case of a few roots ending in a vowel, have been brought over to the अ type, i. e., to the first, sixth, and the tenth. Some of the others have left a few traces; as, the fifth and the ninth their ण in such instances as *सुण*, *किण*, *जाण*, *लुण*, *पुण*, *धुण*, both conjugations being, as you may remember, confounded in the Pāli, the third the root *वीह*—pres. tense *वीहिदि*—the ह standing for ऋ, the fourth its व assimilated in a good many roots such as *णव*, *बुज्ज*, *सुज्ज*, *मुह*, *नस्स*, &c., and the seventh its न् in *हन्थ* and others. But you will see that to these forms अ is added and they are made roots ending in अ; while a great many have lost even such traces. In the Pāli, you will remember, the conjugational signs added to some of the roots are entire, as the ना of the sixth and the नो of the fifth, and अ is appended to roots of the seventh conjugation only, न् being inserted before the last consonant. But here the अ takes the place of the ending vowel of the signs of the fifth and other conjugations also, and so we have *सुण*, *कीण*, and *वीह*. Thus in the Prākṛits most roots end in अ. There are some ending in other vowels, such as हो and ठा; but the rule of conjugation is the same for all, viz., to add the terminations to the root directly. There can be no consonantal root. Some forms, such as those of अस्, have come down from the parent language only phonetically changed; but these are not formed in the Prākṛit. They are really Sanskrit forms in what I have ventured to call a petrified condition. The roots ending in अ change it to ए optionally, i. e., they are conjugated according to the model of the first and of the tenth, as is the case to a great extent in the Pāli also. The distinction between the special and the general tenses is of course forgotten.

The Prākṛits have retained the Present and Future tenses and the Imperative mood entire; while the Potential and the Aorist have left the third person singular only. An isolated form of the Imperfect such as आसि from the root अस् remains.

The terminations of the Present Tense are—3rd pers. sing. *दि* and *हे* in Śaur. and *इ* and *ए* in the principal Prākṛit, pl. *न्ति* and *न्ते*; 2nd pers. sing. *सि* and *से*, pl. *इत्था* and *ह* for which last the Śaur. has *ध*; 1st pers. sing. *मि*, pl. *मो*, *मु*, and *म*. Of these *हे* or *ए*, *से* and *न्ते*, of which the last is not given by Vararuchi, are remnants of the old Ātmanepada,

and the first two are used after roots ending in अ only. With the exception of the first pers. pl. म and the 2nd pers. pl. इत्था, the terminations can readily be traced to the corresponding Skr. Parasm. The Sanskrit 2nd pers. pl. थ becomes ध in the Sauraseni and ह in the Mahârâshtri by the phonetic rules already noticed, and मो or its shortened form मु is the Skr. मस्. In these points the primitive and derived languages perfectly agree; but म and इत्था are new terminations and were first used in Pâli, the latter however in the form of त्य. The first is, as I have observed, transferred from the Imperative, Imperfect and other tenses, and त्य is the Skr. स्थ 2nd pers. pl. of the root अस्. To this is prefixed in the Prâkrit the usual augment इ, which मो and मु also take optionally. The terminations मो and मु are unknown to the Pâli. Other forms of the first pers. sing. and pl. made up by adding म्हि and म्ह or म्ही, as in करोमिह, करोम्ह, गच्छम्ह, &c., occur in the plays, though the grammarians have not noticed them. These terminations are evidently the Skr. स्मि 1st pers. sing. and स्मः or स्म pl. of अस्.* You will remember that a good many verbs are made up in the Pâli by adding forms of this root. Hemachandra notices also another termination of the 3rd pers. pl., viz., इरे, which is transferred from the Perfect. The Imperative forms are made up by adding हु Saur. उ Pr. 3rd pers. sing. and न्तु pl.; सु and हि 2nd pers. sing. and ध Saur. ह Pr. pl.; and मु 1st pers. sing. and मो pl. The original form of the root ending in अ is also used as the second pers. sing. Of these दु, न्तु, हि or अ, and सु from स्व Âtm. are both Skr. and Pâli; ह (Skr. थ) transferred from the Present is used in Pâli; but मु and मो are peculiar to the Prâkrit, the Pâli using only the terminations of its present. Of these मो is transferred from the Prâkrit Present, and मु is made up by adding the उ which is peculiar to the Imperative and distinguishes it from the present. The first pers. pl. takes म also sometimes as in the Pâli, but it is not noticed by the grammarians. The consciousness that the future is made up by prefixing स्व=स्व Pr. & Pâli to the terminations of the present has never been lost, and whatever changes these terminations undergo are transferred to the future; so that the Sauraseni and Mâgadhi future differs from

* Prof. Lassen traces these to the root अस्, but इत्था to the Skr. थ to which त् is, he says, prefixed because the previous vowel must have been pronounced with some accent. But considering that many forms of अस् are used as terminations it is more natural to take this also as such a form.

the Pāli in those respects only in which the Present tenses of the two differ. The *णि* of the first person sing. however, is optionally changed to an *anusvāra*; or the *anusvāra* may be a remnant of the conditional terminations; as *हसिस्सं*. In the principal Prākṛit the *स्व* is still further corrupted to *हि*, *व* being dissolved into *इ* and *स* changed to *ह*, as in *होहिइ* for *भविष्यति*, *होहिन्ति* for *भविष्यन्ति*, &c. In the first pers. we have, in addition to this *हि*, *स्स* which is lengthened as in Skr. and also its other form *हा* as well as *स्सं* for the whole as in the Śauraseni, *e. g.*, *होहि-स्सा-हानि* or *होहिस्सं*, &c. A beginning in the direction of the *हि* was, you will remember, made in Pāli. We have also a few petrified Skr. forms such as *इच्छं* for *इच्छामि*, *मोच्छं* for *मोक्षामि* which are more conditional than future in their origin; and to these as bases are added the terminations of the present and also of the future to form new futures; as *इच्छिइ*, *इच्छिहिइ*, &c. We have also *काहं* and *हाहं* from *कृ* and *हृ*. The only Potential form left is that of the 3rd pers. sing.; as *हसेउज्ज* or *हसेज्जा*, *होउज्ज* or *होज्जा*. The termination is the same as in Pāli, the *य्व* of the 3rd pers. sing. being altered to *उज्ज*, and the general form of the termination *य्वा* to *उज्जा*. After bases ending in *अ*, *ऊ* or *जा* becomes *एज्ज* or *एज्जा*, as in Skr. and Pāli.¹² This being an isolated form and derived from the Potential, which does not signify any particular time, it is used in the sense of the Present, Future, or Imperative in all numbers and persons; and after roots in *अ* the terminations *सु* and *हि* of the second pers. sing. of the Imperative are added to *उज्ज* to make up new forms of that mood, as *हसेज्जसु*, *हसेज्जहि*; and another form *हसेउजे* is also mentioned.¹³ This Potential form of roots ending in vowels other than *अ* is used as a base, and the terminations of the two tenses and one mood are attached to it to make up new forms for them; as *होउज्जइ*, *होउज्जाइ*; *होउज्जउ*, *होउज्जाउ*, &c. The Aorist also has left its 3rd pers. sing. only; the termination to be added to roots in a vowel, is *सी*, *ही*, or *हीअ*, and *ईअ*

¹² This fact strongly supports my derivation of the forms. Prof. Lassen derives them from the Precative. But the Precative was lost at an early stage, since it does not exist even in the Pāli. The *ए* is not the *अय* of the 10th conj. as the Prof. thinks, but the *ए* which bases ending in *अ* taken in the Pot. in Skr.

¹³ Prof. Lassen derives these also from the Precative, and against the argument that that mood is rarely used in Skr. itself and was lost in the Pāli states that the Precative, is founded in the Vernaculars. But I have not found it. The forms *करजे*, *करजे* *G.* *करिये*, *करियो* *H.* I trace to the Prākṛit Potential forms spoken of above.

to those ending in a consonant or अ, i.e., such as take the augment इ or change the अ to इ. Of these सी and ही are derived from the Parasm. सीत् of the fourth form; the first is found in Pâli, and ही is only another form of it. The Pâli has ई also for the 3rd pers. sing. corresponding to the ईत् affixed to Sanskrit roots that take the augment इ. This is very likely the origin of ईअ also since we have it after the roots which necessarily admit the augment; but the अ of this and of हीअ is difficult to explain. हीअ must correspond to some such form as सीय or सीत which, the स being dropped after the augment इ, is reduced to ईअ. These सीय and सीत are forms of the Potential Âtm. of अस्, and they may have been added as terminations to form the Aorist as other forms of अस् are in this and other tenses in the Pâli. Or the सी of the Aorist may have been confounded with सीत the pot. of अस् from its resemblance to it.

These are rare and isolated forms, and past time is mostly expressed by the past participle passive which in the case of intransitive and some transitive verbs has also an active sense. The Sanskrit termination ण is only phonetically changed to इ in the Śaurasenî and to अ in the Prâkrit. Roots ending in अ change it to इ before the past participial termination. The past participles of some roots are not newly formed, but the old Skr. forms have come down only phonetically altered. This fact should always be remembered, that there are in all these derived dialects new formations called by Hemachandra साध्यावस्थ, as well as old formations, सिद्धावस्थ. This arises from the fact of the analogies not being made applicable throughout, as they would have been if the languages had been artificial. Contingency or condition is expressed by the present participle, as we do in our modern vernaculars. The infinitive is formed as in Skr. by the addition of तुम् changed to उं, the Pâli तवे being lost, and the absolute by affixing the termination ऊण, (तूण Śaurasenî) from the Pâli तून and the Vedic त्वान or त्वीन. But the termination that is most used in the Śaurasenî is इअ from the Sanskrit अ of roots with prepositions prefixed. Hemachandra also gives for the principal Prâkrit तूण and तुआण the origin of which is the same as that of ऊण, ता from त्वा, तु by the dissolution of the semivowel of त्वा, तुम् by a confusion with the infinitive, and इअ which is used in the Śaurasenî. Of these, however, ऊण is the one that prevails; the others are rare. The passive is formed by adding ईअ and इअज, both of which come from the Sanskrit अ with the augment इ prefixed as in

Pāli, the य being transformed to उञ्ज in one case and leaving its अ only in the other or being dissolved into इअ. Hemachandra gives a good many roots which preserve the Skr. forms, only phonetically changed, as रीसइ from रुदयते, रुषइ from उचयते, गम्मइ from गम्यते, लब्भइ from लभ्यते, बड्झइ from बध्यते, &c. The causal terminations are ए from अय, and आवे from आपय. These two are the same as in the Pāli, the Sanskrit forms also existing in the latter being lost. Hemachandra adds अ and आव, i. e., the ए answering to अय is lost. But the Sanskrit vowel changes are preserved even when the अय gives place to अ; as हरिसइ. The terminations of the absolutive, the infinitive, the potential participle (अव्य from Skr. तव्य), and of the Future take the augment इ which also is transformed into a short ए of the same nature as that which is found before conjunct consonants, as in वेण्ड or पिण्ड. We have thus हसिऊण or हसेऊण, हसिडं or हसेडं, &c.

You will thus have observed a much greater progress in the operation of those principles which we found at work in the construction of the Pāli. Here as before we find that the less known forms are made up on the model of the more known. The number of old forms which still remained in some of the Pāli declensions and conjugations has been greatly reduced in the Prākṛits, and a further advance been made in the introduction of uniformity and simplicity in the grammar of the language. It is also worthy of remark, that in a great measure the same false analogies which are used in the Pāli have come down to the Prākṛit, and their range extended. Thus the analogy of nouns in इन् or neuter nouns in इ or उ has been carried much further in the declension of masculine nouns ending in इ or उ. Nouns in क्क, अन् and वन् have adapted themselves more closely to the model of those ending in अ, their Sanskrit nom. case supplying the new अ base; and the अ conjugations have more generally prevailed over the rest. The device of using such case-forms as मम् and मङ्गम् as bases, and making up the cases by appending the proper terminations has also been more largely availed of. Some of these phenomena may be attributed to the operation of the same invariable laws in the development of either without being an index to a more intimate connection between the two dialects. But there are individual forms in the two languages which, though they might be different, are yet the same in both. Such, for instance, are वच्छे acc. pl., the loc. sing. ending in the pronominal म्मि or म्मि, the double gen. तिस्साय, the 2nd pers. pl. ending in इत्था of the present

tense, and a good many others. The consonantal and vowel changes also, so far as they go in the older language, are the same. We may therefore safely conclude that the Pâli represents generally an earlier stage of the same language which afterwards became the Prâkrit or Prâkrits. But there are again in the Prâkrits such forms as those of the ablative in *हो* and *आहि* instead of the old pronominal *स्मा*, the first pers. pl. of the Pres. in *मो* or *मु* instead of the Pâli *म*, the 1st pers. sing. of the Imperative in *यु* instead of the Pâli *मि*, the Sauraseni absolutive in *इअ* corresponding to the Sanskrit *क्व*, which does not exist in the older dialect, and others. These Prâkrit forms cannot have been developed out of the Pâli forms, but must have grown independently from the Sanskrit originals. In the same way, though the Prâkrit sounds are generally the same as or further developments of the Pâli sounds, there are a good many which could not have grown out of the latter. Thus the *रि* in the Prâkrit words *रिद्धि*, *रिच्छ*, *रिष*, *रिज्*, &c. cannot have been developed out of the *इ* or *अ* of the Pâli *इद्धि*, *अच्छ*, *अष*, *उज्*, &c., or the *अइ* and *अउ* of such words as *इइष*, *अइरव*, *पडर कउसल*, &c., from the *ए* and *ओ* of the corresponding Pâli words, or the *ण्* for Sanskrit *ञ्* from the Pâli *उञ्*, though this latter exists in some of the Prâkrit dialects, or the *रिस्* for *रै* or *रै* in such words as *आअरिस्*, *मुअरिस्*, *वरिस्*, and *परामरिस्* from the *स्* or *स* of the Pâli *आअस्*, *मुअस्*, *वस्*, and *परामस्*. The Prâkrit sounds must in these cases be traced directly to the corresponding Sanskrit sounds. It therefore appears that the Prâkrits had also an independent development, which may be accounted for on the supposition that they sprang not from the Pâli but a sister dialect or dialects; or that though originally they were the same as the Pâli, their subsequent development was influenced by the parent language, and thus other sounds and forms not existing in the earlier dialect came in fresh from Sanskrit. But the first supposition is discounted by the fact that the resemblance between the Pâli and the Prâkrits extends even to isolated cases: and the second is supported by the circumstance that in one important particular the Prâkrits resemble the Sanskrit in the last stage of its development, while the Pâli differs in that particular from both and agrees with an earlier form of the parent language. We have seen that in later Sanskrit verbal forms especially of the past tense were rarely used, and participles were employed instead; and we find that the Prâkrits have nearly lost all the Sanskrit *तुल्य* and *तुल्य* except those, and past time is generally expressed

by the past participle and contingency by the present; while the Pāli has, as we have seen, preserved eight, including all the past tenses and the conditional. Middle Sanskrit bears to later or classical Sanskrit the same relation, in this respect, that the Pāli bears to the Prākṛits. The change that came over Sanskrit between the two periods left its impress on what may be called the Vernacular speech. This could not have been the case unless Sanskrit had continued to influence that form of speech represented first by the Pāli and afterwards by the Prākṛits. And it was because it continued so to influence it, that the Prākṛits came to have sounds and grammatical forms also derived direct from Sanskrit and not through the Pāli.

Sanskrit writers distinguish three elements in the Prākṛit vocabulary which they call Tadbhava, Tatsama, and Deśya. Such words as are derived from Sanskrit are called Tadbhava, such as इक्ष्ण, कस, मग्ग, कप्प, &c. Tatsamas are those that are the same in Sanskrit and Prākṛit as कमल, मण्डल, &c., the phonetic laws of the Prākṛits not necessitating a change in them, and Deśyas are such as cannot be derived from Sanskrit and must be referred to another source. A good many words of this nature we find used in Prākṛit literature; and there exists a *kośa* or thesaurus of Deśya words by Hemachandra. A large number of these Deśya words exist in the modern vernaculars, such as :—

अक्का a sister, M.¹⁴ आका, a term of honour used for an elder sister.

अग्घाडी an herb; आघाडा M.

अवडो a well; आड M.

उडिइ a kind of pulse; the same M. H.

उड्डइ sleeps; उंघना H. उंघतुं G.

कुइ, कुतुं, कोतुं, wonder; कोड old M.

कोह a town; कोट a fort M.

कोडिम्बो a basin of wood for water; कोटंबा M.

कोलिन्न a firebrand; कोलीत M.

कल्लविअ to mix a liquid with a solid substance and stir it up; कालवणे M.

गोहो a man, a warrior; घोव husband, M.

चोप्पइइ rubs, anoints; चोपडणे M.

छिण्णो

छिण्णी

छिण्णालो

छिण्णाली

} an adulterer or adulteress; सिइळ M.

¹⁴ M.=Marāṭhī; G.=Gujarātī; H.=Hindi.

पोआलो an ox ; पोळ M.

पडच्छी a cow that has no milk ; पाडशी M.

पासळ, slanting ; पासलें lying down with the face upwards, M.

पोहं belly ; पोटे M. पेट H. G.

फंसइ deceives ; फंसविण M.

फुक्का false, vain ; फुका M.

बाउली a doll ; बाउली M.

बाप्यो father, a brave man ; बाप M. G. H ; बाप्या an able-bodied man, M.

There are a great many words set down as Deśyas, which on close examination will be found to be Tadbhavas. They differ from ordinary Tadbhavas in having undergone great corruption. The following are instances. Some of the words in the above list may also be considered to be of the same nature. Thus फंसइ 'deceives' is a denominative or nominal verb from the word पाश 'a snare,' which in our modern dialects has the form of फांस; whence फंसइ is 'to ensnare' or 'entrap.'

उव्वाङ्गिओ thrown upwards ; उद्धतितः Skr.

कन्दीह a lotus ; from कन्दोत्थ Skr.

कुडडो humpbacked. This may be traced to Skr. कुब्ज-कुम्भ—कुह ; and ड is a termination which is used in a great many nouns.

कुरुषं disliked, evidently from कुरु and रोच्य.

कोणो black ; Skr. कृष्ण-कण्ह-कोण्ह-कोण.

उज्जड desolate ; from Skr. उज्ज्वल bright, pure, cleared of every thing, desolate.

बइळ a bullock, from Skr. बलीवर्ह.

छली rind, bark ; may be from Skr. शल्य, शल्यक.

छासी whey ; may be from Skr. तक्र.

छिवइ touches ; from Skr. छुप् by a change of vowel.

छिप्प a tail ; from पुच्छ, by the consonants interchanging places, and the palatal छ having its vowel इ.

पडोहर the hind part of a house ; from Skr. पृष्ठगृह.

पेयालं, पेज्जल, a measure, a certain quantity, occurs in the Pāli and is traced to Skr. प्राय. It may also be connected with प्राड्य.

बोलइ speaks ; from ब्रू by the change of र् to ल, and the transference of the vowel,—a thing often observable ; बलू—बुल—बोल.

The Sanskrit etymology of some of the words given by the lexicographers is evident ; and one does not know how they came to be regarded as Deśyas. Other words changed their sense in the course of time and so were referred to this class.

पम्हसइ forgets; from प्रमुष् to steal,—a thing forgotten is as it were stolen.

बहुमुखो a wicked person; from बहुमुख, because a wicked person puts on many faces or appearances.

कामकिसीरो an ass;—a son of Kâma or love, devoted to pleasure, is often a donkey.

कुष्ठिमई pregnant, कुक्षि originally 'side,' came to signify 'womb'; and that womb is worthy of the name which bears a child, hence कुक्षिमती *lit.* 'having a womb' came to have the signification given. A good many of the words given by Hemachandra do not occur in the modern Vernaculars, and we have regular Tadbhavas instead; as, इली a tiger, ईस a nail, &c.

The number of Deśya words, if properly examined, would be greatly reduced. Still a Deśi element in the Prākṛits and the Vernaculars must be admitted. These words must have come into the dialects from the language of the aborigines whom the Āryas conquered; and some are found in Sanskrit also.

THE APABHRAṂŚA.

The dialect called the Apabhraṁśa by the grammarians presents Indian speech in a further stage of decay and occupies a middle position between these Prākṛits and the modern vernaculars to some of which, especially to the old Hindî, the Brajabhāṣā, and the Gujarātî it bears striking resemblances, as I shall hereafter show.

As mentioned before, we have the grammar of this dialect from Hemachandra, Trivikrama, and Kramadīśvara; but Vararuchi does not mention it. The Apabhraṁśa had a literature of its own. Hemachandra illustrates each of his rules about this dialect by quoting a verse. In the fourth Act of the Vikramorvaśî the Prākṛit speeches of the king in his madness are in this dialect. But it is a question whether they existed there originally, since in several manuscripts on this side of India they do not appear. The metres employed in these and in Hemachandra's quotations are the same as those popularly used in old and modern Hindî or Braj, *viz.*, *dohâ* or *chopai*. Pandit Vrajlal mentions a work of the name of Muñjarāsa, written in the Apabhraṁśa, from which he gives a short extract, and another the hero of which is a king of the name of Prasenajita. He also quotes from another work; but the language of all these appears to be more modern than Hemachandra's Apabhraṁśa, and that of some of the

verses makes a very near approach to the Gujarâtî. As before, I will introduce my remarks on this dialect by a specimen :—

एत्तहे तेत्तहे बारि घरि लच्छि विसंदुल धाइ ।
 पिअ पढभइव गोरडी निखल कहिवि न ठाइ ॥
 जे महु दिण्णा दिअहडा इइए पवसन्तेण ।
 ताण गणन्तिअ अङ्गुलिउ जडजरिआउ नहेण ॥
 जीविउ काख न वल्लहउं धणु पुणु काख न इहु ।
 सोण्णि वि अवसरि निवडिअई तिणसम गणइ विसिहु ॥
 जो गुण गोवइ अप्पणा पयडा करइ परस्सु ।
 तसु हउं कलिजुगि दुल्लहो बलि किडजउं सुअणस्सु ॥
 गङ्गः गमेप्पिण जो मुअओ जो सिवतित्थ गमेप्पि ।
 कीलहि तिइसावासगउ सो जमलोउ जिणेप्पि ॥

Sanskrit :

अत्र तत्र द्वारे गृहे लक्ष्मीर्विसंभ्रुला धावति ।
 प्रियप्रभटेव गौरी निश्चला क्वापि न तिष्ठति ॥
 ये मह्यं इत्ता दिवसा इयितेन प्रवसता ।
 तेषां (तान्) गणयन्त्या अङ्गुलयो जर्जरिता नखेन ॥
 जीवितं कस्य न वल्लभं धनं पुनः कस्य न इष्टम् ।
 हे अप्यवसरे निपतिते त्वणसमे गणयति विशिष्टः ॥
 यो गुणान्गोपायस्यास्मीयान्प्रकटाङ्करोति परस्य ।
 तस्याहं कलिजुगे दुर्लभस्य बलिं करोमि सुजनस्य ॥
 गङ्गानं गत्वा यो मृतो यः शिवतीर्थं गत्वा ।
 क्रीडति त्रिदशावासगतः स यमलोकां जिह्वा ॥

“The unsteady goddess of wealth runs to this door and that, this house and that ; like a fair one separated from her lover she does not remain firm anywhere.”

“My fingers have worn away rubbed against by my nails, while counting, again and again, the days named by my lover [as the period of his absence], when he set out on his journey.”

“To whom is life not dear and to whom is wealth not an object of desire ? But when the occasion comes, a worthy man regards them as straw.”

“I worship that good man so rarely to be met with in this Kali age, who conceals his own merits and gives publicity to those of others.”

“He who dies after having gone to the Gaṅgâ and to Śivatīrtha triumphs over the power (world) of death and sports in the habitation of the gods.”

The vowel अ of the derivatives of the pronouns यद्, तद्, किम्,

and इहम् is changed to इ or ए. In the principal Prākṛit, we have noticed a tendency to such a change, and one of our instances was इत्यु for अय. From the same tendency we have in the Apabhraṁśa जेत्यु for यय, तेत्यु for तय, and केत्यु for कुय, the उ of the latter being replaced by ए in virtue of the analogy of the other pronouns. In the same way तहत् "in that manner," which after dropping the final consonant becomes तह, is changed to तेम, बहत् to जेम, and किम्बत् to केम. This ए is also rendered a more close vowel and changed to इ, and thus we have तिम, जिम, and किम. Thus the bases of these pronouns came to be considered as ते or ति, जे or जि, and के or कि, and so we have तिध for तया, जिध for यया, and किध for कयम्. The mute element being dropped these forms become तिह, जिह, and किह, and further तेह, जेह, and केह. For similar reasons we have तेत्तिअ or तित्तिअ for तावत्क, जेत्तिअ or जित्तिअ for यावत्क, केत्तिअ or कित्तिअ for कियत्क, &c., even in the Prākṛits. The nom. sing. termination of nouns in अ is shortened to उ, and since a great many nouns were pronounced with this final उ and its original sense was forgotten, it was transferred by way of analogy to other words or grammatical forms that did not possess it before; and thus we have पुणु and विणु for पुनः and विना, and जेत्यु, तेत्यु, जेह, &c., in the above. The long vowels are sometimes shortened as in the word गङ्गा in the last of the above verses. The consonants क् and ख् are sometimes softened to ग् and घ्, instead of being dropped, ह् and थ् to द् and ध्, as in the Śauraseni, and प् and फ् to ब् and भ्. In the principal Prākṛit also this is sometimes the case. The labial व् is changed to म् in a few more instances than in the Prākṛits, as in जाम् and ताम् for वावत् and तावत्, and जेम or जिम, तेम or तिम, &c., in the above for बहत्, तहत्, &c. The complete contact of the lips necessary for the pronunciation of म् is avoided in a great many cases, and thus we have व् for म् as in भर्वत् for भमर, कर्वत् for कमल, &c. This is the prevailing rule in most of the vernaculars, as we shall hereafter find. The conjunct म्ह is changed to म्; that is, the aspirate ह् has been labialized and assimilated to the preceding म्, as in गिम्व for Prākṛit गिम्व् and Sanskrit ग्रीष्म. A few instances of this change we did find in the Prākṛits and we shall find more in the vernaculars. The Sanskrit conjunct ख् is changed to प्; for as व् was often pronounced as व्, this व् instead of merging into the preceding mute, as semi-vowels often do, acquired prominence as व् does when preceded by a dental; and the न् being assimilated to it, the whole become प् as ख् becomes व्, as in पद् for स्ववा, प्यप or पप for the abstract termination स्वन, and प्यप for स्वीन

the suffix of the absolute. In the Prākṛits the स् of आत्मन् similarly becomes प्, and so we have अप्पा for आत्मा. The letter इ when the latter member of a conjunct is sometimes not assimilated, as in ओप्पि, प्राड for प्रायः, &c., and sometimes it is introduced even when it does not exist in the original, as in धु for तद्, प्रस्स for पस्स, &c. With these few exceptions, the rules about the assimilation of conjuncts, the elision of consonants, and others hold good generally as in the Prākṛits, as you will see from the above extract.

DECLENSIONS—*Nouns in अ*.—The decay of the case terminations is, however, a distinguishing feature of this dialect. The distinction between the nom. and acc. case forms which we observed lessening at each stage in the growth of our languages is here altogether lost. The ओ of the nom. sing. of masculine nouns in अ is shortened to उ, and used in both the cases, as मुअउ nom. for मृतकः, गउ for गतः, जमलोउ for यमलोकम्; and applied to neuter nouns as well as कमलु. The nasal of the neuter is preserved only in nouns which are augmented by the addition of क changed to अ; as कमलउं for कमलकम्. The nom. and acc. pl. of the masculine ends in आ; as दिअहडा, पयडा &c., in the above. The neuter nouns preserve the Prākṛit इ of the plural, as in कमलइं. Sometimes words are used in these two cases without any terminations; as विसंडुल nom. sing. निचल nom. sing. गुण acc. pl., गङ्ग acc. sing., तित्थ acc. sing., in the above extract. The principle observable in the other cases is the same as we have noticed in the older dialects, viz., a gradual reduction of all the declensions to an uniformity. The instrumental singular of nouns in अ has two forms, one in एं as देवें, and the other the old one देवेण. The former is derived from this old form, the final अ being dropped, and the nasal assuming the form of an anusvāra. This new termination is transferred to nouns in इ or उ also, as अग्गिएं. The instrumental pl. is the old one in हि, but the change of the ending vowel to ए is only optionally made; as गुणेहिं or गुणहिं. One ablative termination is हे which is appended to all nouns, and the other हु, as in वच्छहे गृण्हइ फलइं or वच्छहु गृण्हइ, “gathers fruits from trees.” Of course we may trace the first to हिन्तो by first supposing it to be changed to हेन्तो by the usual Prākṛit rule, and afterwards to have dropped its second syllable; and हु to something else. But it appears to me that a good many of the terminations having been reduced to ह् by natural phonetic changes, the others also had this inserted in them by analogy, just as the nominative termination उ is intro-

duced in words and forms in which it did not exist. This process we shall necessarily have to suppose when we examine the forms of the present tense. Or the ह् may have been introduced simply to prevent a hiatus and connect the vowel-termination with the base. And this is rendered probable by Hemachandra's rule that the ending syllables उं, हुं, णिं, and हं, are to be lightly pronounced, as the ह् that is introduced in the place of a dropped consonant is. The real syllables in these cases are therefore अं, उं, इं, and अं; and this is confirmed by the fact that the remnants of these Apabhraṁśa terminations existing in some of the modern vernaculars are destitute of this ह् and are mere vowel-terminations, as will be seen in a subsequent lecture. Thus, then, हे may be considered the aspirated form of the ए of the Prākṛit feminine ablative, and हु of the उ of the masculine ablative.* The operation of the law of false analogies is very wide. The abl. pl. हुं, as in गिरिसिङ्ग-हुं, may with Lassen be traced to सुन्तो, the स् being changed to ह्, and the syllable तो dropped as ति is in the case of the 3rd pers. pl. of the present, as we shall see. The genitive singular सु, and स्सु as in सुभनस्सु and परस्सु in verse 4 above, I trace to the स्स of the Prākṛits the उ being added by analogy as observed before. Lassen traces it to स्व which he says must have been added to these nouns to form the genitive; and the व being softened to उ, it is reduced to सु. But this does not account for the double स्स of the other form; and the addition of such a word as स्व to make up a case-form is altogether unexampled. The suffix हो, as in बुद्धहो in the same verse, is but another form of सु. The genitive plural हं, as in मानुसहं for मनुष्याणाम्, may with Lassen be derived from the साम् of the Sanskrit pronominal declension. But the transference of this termination to nouns is nowhere seen in the Prākṛits; हं is optionally appended to nouns in इ or उ also; and the characteristic ण of the gen. is wanting in this dialect. The more probable explanation, therefore, is that the ण lost its cerebral element and was reduced merely to a nasal अ, or अ with an anusvāra, as is the case in the instrumental singular, and the ह् is added, as observed before, simply to facilitate the pronunciation. The loc. sing. ends in ए, as in तले, which we see is the old termination, or in इ, as in तलि, which is a shortened form of ए. Kramadīśvara gives also हि which might be traced to the Pāli म्हि, the Sanskrit स्मि, or the स्मिस् of the Prākṛit pronominal declension. The language of Jaina works has this स्मिस्

* Kramadīśvara in Lassen's extract gives ह् instead of हुं; but this is an evident misreading.

in the case of nouns also. But even here the Prākṛit *hi*, may, with reason be supposed to have changed to *ḥ*, and the *ḥ* to be as before, a mere *spiritus lenis*. We have this locative *ḥ* in the Marichī. The *ḥ* is retained in the plural also of these nouns. The vocative is formed by using *he* which is evidently an interjection; as *सक्य हे* "(O) young men."

Nouns in ḥ or ẖ.—There is no distinction between the nom. and acc. sing. and pl., the original base being used without any modification or addition. The instrumental singular is formed by adding *ḥ* or *ẖ* as in the last class of nouns or simple anusvāra; as *अग्निḥ*, *अग्निẖ*, *अग्नि*. As *कृन्* becomes *ḥ* by dropping the final vowel, so does the *ḥṣā* of the Prākṛit instrumental here become *ḥ*. The abl. sing. ends in *ḥe* as in *मिरिḥe* and *मरुḥe*; and the gen. sing. also according to Kramadīśvara, Hemachandra being silent. These have been transferred from the feminine. Kramadīśvara also gives *ḥe* and *ḥ* as the terminations of the sing. of these two cases; but there must be some misreading here in Lassen's extract from the author, since *ḥ* is a distinctive plural termination. The gen. pl. termination is *ḥ* or *ḥe*, as in *सरुḥ*, *सरणिḥ* (*सङ्कुलीनाम्*). The latter has been traced to the old gen. *ẖ*, and the former appears to be only another form of it with the addition of the usual *ṣ*. The loc. sing. has *hi*, as in *कलिhi*; and the pl. has *hi* and *ḥ*, as in *मरुhi*, and *उरुḥ*. The first must be considered to be the same as *hi* derived from *smi* or *sm̐* with the anusvāra dropped; or as the *ḥ* of Prākṛit feminine nouns with the *spiritus lenis* *ḥ*. This explanation seems to be probable, since we have seen other feminine terminations also used for the cases of these nouns. The third is to be traced to the Prākṛit *ḥ*. Kramadīśvara in Lassen's extract gives *ḥ* for the *ḥ* of the abl. pl., and *ḥe* for that of the gen. pl.; but I have to make the same remark here as before. The instr. and abl. plurals are the same as those of nouns in *ḥ*; as *मरुḥi* and *सरुḥ*. Thus the plural of three cases ends in *ḥ*, derived separately of course, and the plurals of two in *hi*.

Feminine nouns.—The plurals of the nom. and acc. of feminine nouns preserve the old *ō*, or its shortened form *ṭ*, as in *अङ्गुलिṭ* *जङ्गलिभाṭ* in the second verse, and *सुन्दरसवङ्गाओ विलासिणीओ*. The sing. is the original base, as *जङ्गलिभा*, *विलासिणी*, &c., The instr. sing. termination is *ḥ*, the old one, as in *ससिमण्डलचन्द्रिणḥ*, *कन्तिḥ*, &c.; the abl. is *ḥe*, as in *बालाḥe* for *बालायाः*, which is an aspirated *ḥ*; and the gen. *ḥ* as in *मुखाḥ* for *मुखायाः* (*ṭ* being a nominal suffix) may be similarly

explained or traced to the *से* of the gen. sing. fem. of the pronoun. *किन्*, *बद्*, and *तद्* in the Prākṛit. I prefer the former explanation. This *हे* has been transferred to masculine nouns in *इ* or, as we have seen. The abl. and gen. pl. ends in *इ*, as in *बयंसिअइ* for *बयस्त्रान्*: or *बयस्त्रानाम्*. The anusvāra of the *इ* of the other classes of nouns is here omitted; and if correctly so, the *इ* of the abl. may be considered an aspirated form of the *उ* which is the ablative termination in the Prākṛit; and that of the genitive may be traced to the *सु* of the singular of masculine nouns. The instr. pl. and the loc. sing. and pl. take the same terminations as masculine nouns in *इ* or *उ*; as *महिहि*, *महिहि*, and *महिहि-इ*. Lassen gives other terminations; but he appears to me not to have interpreted Kramadīśvara correctly. Those I have given are all that I have been able to find.

You will thus see how by the various influences at work, the natural transformation of *सु* to *इ*, the elision of some of the elements, and the aspirated pronunciation of the vowels, most of the old terminations have been reduced to syllables composed of *इ* and a vowel with or without an anusvāra. Terminations with such weak sounds are not adapted to serve the purposes of ordinary intercourse, since they require on the part of the speakers such care in pronunciation to render themselves intelligible to each other as we have not seen displayed in the course of our lingual history. The nominative and accusative throughout, and in certain classes of nouns the other cases also, have come to have the same forms. So that the purpose of expressing the different relations can be no longer performed by these poor remnants of the old declensional system; and a process of reconstruction must take place. It has already begun in the Apabhraṁśa; but we shall find it carried on much further in the vernaculars, which may now be said to have completed their new declensional system.

Pronouns.—The abl. sing. of pronouns ends in *हां*, as *अहां*, &c., which is to be traced to the Sanskrit *स्मात्* and the Prākṛit *म्हा*, and the loc. sing. in *हि* which has been explained. The gen. sing. of *बद्*, *तद्*, and *किन्* are optionally *आसु*, *तासु*, and *कासु*, made up by adding the usual *उ* to *आस*, *तास*, and *कास*, which again are other forms of *अस्स*, *तस्स*, and *कस्स*, with one of the consonants dropped and the preceding vowel lengthened as a compensation, a phenomenon to be noticed in going over the vernaculars. In the feminine these pronouns have *अहे*, *तहे*, and *कहे* optionally for the gen. sing. which are derived from the Prākṛit *जिसे*, *तिसे*, and *किसे* and the Pāli *जिस्साय*, *तिस्साय*, and *किस्साय*; The base, however,

in the Apabhramśa ends in अ and not ई or, the more probable explanation is that this हे is the aspirated form of the ए of feminine nouns. इहम् has आव for its base; the instr. and gen. singulars, for instance, are आवेण and आवहो. This seems to be taken from the nom. sing. ओअ, or अव by the rule of the substitution of व for अं. The neuter nom. and acc. sing. is इमु. एहो is nom. and acc. sing. masc. of एतद्, corresponding to एतो, एह fem. to एसा, and by the application of उं to these we have the neuter एह. एह is the nom. and acc. pl. answering to एह् Prākṛit, with the latter ए shortened; and ओह् of अहस् which corresponds to the form अमुको, the अमु being changed to अहु by a rule before mentioned, and afterwards to ओ; and के to ए shortened to इ. In other respects all these pronouns are declined like the corresponding nouns. The pronouns of the 1st and 2nd persons are thus declined :—

1st pers.		2nd pers.	
sing.	pl.	sing.	pl.
Nom. हउं	अम्हे, अम्हइ	तुहं	तुम्हे-तुम्हइ
Acc. मइं	— —	तइं	— —
Instr.—	अम्हेहिं	पइं, तइं	तुम्हेहिं
Abl. महु-मउमु,	अम्हइं	तउ, तुउह, तुअ	तुम्हइं
Gen. — —	— —	— —	— —
Loc. मइं	अम्हासु	पइं, तइं	तुम्हासु

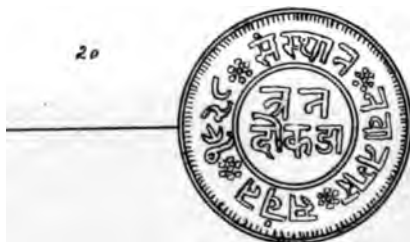
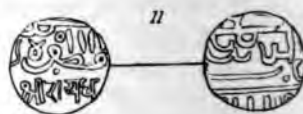
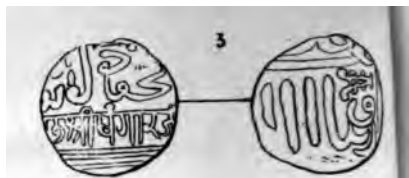
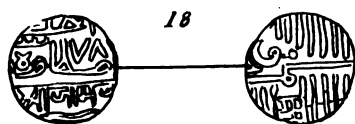
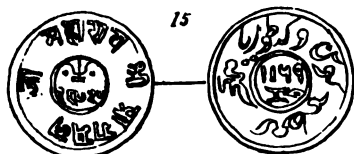
Here we have not the wilderness of forms which we observed in the principal Prākṛit. The nom. sing. of the 1st per. is हउं corresponding to अहकस्, the initial अ and the क् being elided and the usual Apabhramśa उ added. In the Prākṛit अहकस् is represented by अहअं or अहअं. मइं is to be traced to the Sanskrit instr. मया and the loc. मयि both of which are reduced to the form of मइ in the Prākṛit. Here it extended to the acc. also. The pl. base is अम्ह which has been explained. The nom. pl. अम्हइं corresponds to such a form as अस्मके nom. pl., not loc. as Lassen says, through अम्हए; and the gen. pl. has the Apabhramśa termination इं. The rest are old. तुह is a base derived, as I said in going over the Prākṛits, from तुय् and is used in the Prākṛit also. पइं and तइं of the acc. instr. and loc. are from स्वया and स्वयि. The second is found in the older dialects, the first is peculiar to this. Of the corruption of स्व to ए I have already spoken. The abl. and gen. तउ corresponds to a form स्वक which with the Apabhramśic उ is तउ, the क being dropped. Or it may be traced to तव with the व

dissolved into उ. लुङ्ङ is a form found in the Prākṛits also and explained by me as a corruption of the dat. लुङ्ङ in the Pāli and Prākṛits, derived from the Skr. लुङ्ङम्. The dative forms, you will remember, are put under the gen. in the older dialects. The ङ् of लुङ्ङ is a peculiar Apabhraṁśic conjunct formed from उङ्ङ. The neuter of लङ् is similarly ङ् and ङ्. The base of the plural is लुङ्ङ, the same as in the Prākṛit; and the nom. pl. लुङ्ङङ् is to be traced to लुङ्ङङ् for लुङ्ङङ् nom. pl. All the forms are similar to those of the first personal pronoun.

The Present tense of the Apabhraṁśa verb admits besides those of the corresponding Prākṛit or Saurasēṇitense, the following forms:—1st pers. sing. लहङ्, pl. लहङ्ङ; 2nd pers. sing. लहङ्ङि, pl. लहङ्ङु; 3rd pers. sing. लहङ्ङ, pl. लहङ्ङि. It appears that some of these forms have arisen from a confusion of the Present Indicative with the Imperative. The prevailing and distinguishing final of the latter is the vowel उ; and here we see it is appended to the forms of the 1st pers. sing. and 2nd pers. pl., though it does not occur in those forms in any of the older dialects. The ङ् is another characteristic of these paradigms. That of the second pers. sing. we get from the old लि, and that of the pl. exists in the Prākṛit, being derived from the Skr. य. But the 3rd pers. pl. and the 1st pers. pl. get it simply by an extension of the analogy; or it may have been introduced to prevent a hiatus and thus may, like those of the cases, have been simply a *spiritus lenis*. The ङ् of the latter, however, may be traced to म्ङो, ओ being shortened to उ, just as म्ङा and म्ङि of the declensions become ह्ङा and ह्ङि. Instead of the 3rd pers. pl. न्ति we have ह्ङि, in which, though the ङ् is due to analogy, the characteristic ङ् and the nasal are preserved. You will thus see that in the declensions as well as conjugations the ङ् prevails in this dialect. The Imperative second pers. sing. ends in ङ्, ए or उ. The first two may be traced to the Prākṛit and Sanskrit हि, ङ् being dropped as in the Vernaculars; and the last seems to be substituted for the अ of one of the forms in the original dialects by analogy; or it may be the remnant of लु changed first to लु, and then to उ. But a better and I may say the true explanation of these forms will be given in going over the Vernaculars. Hemachandra does not give any more forms for the Imperative; but Kramadīśvara gives ङ्ङ for the second person plural which must very likely be लुङ्ङ, the same as in the present, and लुङ्ङ for the first pers. pl. which we have in the Present also. In one of the verses quoted by Hemachandra occurs पिङ्ङङ्ङ which seems to correspond to पिङ्ङङ्ङ, if the reading is correct. The truth seems to be that the forms of the Imperative were lost, and the sense confounded

with that of the Present, but the distinctive forms were those of the second pers. sing.; and in this respect there is an analogy with the Hindi and the Gujarâtî which resemble the Apabhraṁśa the most. The Future has the Prâkrit and Śaurasenî forms in हि and इस्स; but one स् of this latter is dropped, and then the terminations of the Apabhraṁśa Present are added. The terminations of the absolutive are इ, इउ, अवि, इवि, एवि, एविणु, एप्पि, एप्पिणु. इ is the same as the Śaurasenî इअ from the Skr. य, इउ is the same, with the usual उ added to it, or is to be traced to the तुम् or इतुम् which is, as we have seen, confounded in the Prâkrit with the absolutive, and the rest are various forms of the Vedic स्वीन with the Prâkrit augment इ or ए. This स्वीन is, by a rule before mentioned, changed to प्पिण which with उ becomes प्पिणु; and by dropping the final न we have प्पि. This, however, may be derived also from such a form as स्वी found in the Vedas. This प्पि or प्पिणु is then softened to वि or विणु, as ए is so softened in many cases. When the augment इ or ए is not prefixed, we have वि in the form of अवि, the अ being the final vowel of the root. Some of the terminations of the absolutive are also used to form the infinitive, on account of the prevailing confusion between the two. In consequence of this very confusion, recourse is had to other ways of forming the latter which are similar to those existing in the Prâkrits; but these will be noticed hereafter.

The termination तव्य of the potential participle assumes the forms of इएव्वउं, एम्बउं, and एव. The first two represent the form with the addition of क; and the इ of इएव्वउं is the usual augment. The अ of the त of तव्य which remains after the consonantal portion is dropped, is by the influence of the preceding इ, changed to ए. In those points which are not noticed here, the Apabhraṁśa follows chiefly the Śaurasenî, and the principal Prâkrit also to some extent. Thus in a great measure it represents those dialects in a further stage of decay but it must be considered to have derived some words or forms independently also. Thus the एइ of the second personal pronoun cannot be derived from the Prâkrit तइ, nor प्पिण of the absolutive from वृण or ऊण, or पण of abstract nouns from तण, but directly from the Sanskrit त्वया, स्वीन, and स्वन. This corruption of त्व must have existed in some of the older dialects too since, as observed before, we have it in Aśoka's inscriptions; and the Apabhraṁśa derived it as well as a few such peculiarities from them.



ART.—II. *On Coins of Kutch and Kathiawar.* By O. CODRINGTON,
M.D., M.R.A.S., Hon. Momb. B.B.R.A.S.

THE coins of Kutch described in this paper are those of the Jádeja dynasty, from the reign of Bháráji or Bhármal, A.D. 1585 to the present time, and known in the bazar as Rá Sai Kori; they are interesting in being different in size and weight and names from other contemporary coinage in India.

The following is a list of the kings, with the dates of their reigns :—

Bhármal, or Bhármalji, or Bháráji	A.D. 1585 to 1595
Bhójráj, or Bhójarájaji	„ 1631 to 1645
Khengár, or Khengárji	„ 1645 to 1654
• Hamirji reigned a few months in	„ 1655
Tamáchi, or Tamácherji	„ 1655
Ráyadhan, or Roydhan, or Ráyadhanji I. ...	„ 1666(?) to 1697
Prágmál, or Prágji, or Prágmálji I.	„ 1697 to 1715
Gódji, or Ghórji, or Góhódaji I.	„ 1715 to 1718
Désal, or Désalji	„ 1718 to 1741
Lakha, or Lakhapatji, deposed his father 1741, reigned till 1760	
Gódji, or Góhódaji II.	A.D. 1760 to 1778
Ráyadhan, or Ráyadhanji II.	„ 1778 to 1813
(Prithiráj, or Bháji Báva, his brother, was twice on the throne and deposed twice during the lifetime of Ráyadhanji, who was mad for many years.)	
Bhármal, or Bháramálji II.	„ 1814 to 1819
Désal, or Désalji II.	„ 1819 to 1860
Prágmál, or Prágmálji II.	„ 1860 to 1875
Khenjárji III.	„ 1876

We know of no special coinage in Kutch before the time of Bháráji, and it is reasonable, considering the history of the times and place, to conclude that there was none, but that the currencies

• The name of Hamirji is not found in the list of Ráos of Kutch given in books, but is inserted on the authority of Pandit Bhagvánlál Indrají.

of the kings of Guzerat and Delhi were in use immediately before then.

Khengárji, Bháráji's father, was, we know, settled in his Raj by the help of the king of Ahmedabad, Muhammad bin Latif, and Bháráji was himself bound to serve the Ahmedabad king with 5,000 horse; and from the then reigning king in Guzerat, either Muhammad bin Latif or his successor, Muzaffer Shah, Rao Bháráji, in the usual manner of those times, obtained permission to coin copper money, when he struck a coin similar to the Ahmedabad one, but bearing his name in Nagari character in addition.

During this Rao's reign the government of Guzerat passed from the king of Ahmedabad to the Mogul Emperor. Bháráji then tried to make himself independent, and struck silver coins similar to his copper ones. But he too was defeated by, and obliged to transfer his allegiance to Akbar; the issue of his silver coinage was stopped, but subsequently again permitted.

The silver coin of Bháráji (Fig. 1) is in general appearance like that of Muzaffer Shah, but smaller in size; on the obverse is the name Muzaffer Shah in Persian character and the Hijra date 978 with a trident, and below in Nagari character राघुश्री भाराजी.

On the reverse is the Persian inscription of the Guzerat coin and the Rajput dagger.*

The coin of his successor Bhójrāj, or Bhójarājaji (A.D. 1631—1645) is similar (Fig. 2). The same date 978 is on it. The trident of the goddess Áśapura, whose devotees the rulers of Kutch were, is more distinct, and the name is given राउश्री भोज.

The reverse is as the previous coin, but the letters more debased.

The next Rao's coin, Khengár, or Khengárji, or as written on the coin Shengárji (A.D. 1645—1654) is quite the same, date and all, except the name on obverse, राउश्री शंगारजी. (Fig. 3.)

His successor Hamirji reigned but a few months, and his name is not given in ordinary lists of Raos. I have no specimen of his coins.

* Pandit Bhagvānlāl Indrajī has given me a rubbing of another coin of Bháráji, which he once saw but is now unable to trace, nor have I been able to find one. It is of about the same size as the ordinary Kutch Kori, but bears the legend of coins of Jehangir bin Akbar, with the Rao's name in Nagari beneath that of the Emperor.

The coins of Tamácherji or Tamáchi (A.D. 1655) show no change except in the name राउन्नी तमाचीजी. (Fig. 4.)

The same may be said of those of his successor, Ráyadhan, Roydhan, or Ráyadhanji (A.D. 1666 [?] to 1697), on which the date 978 is still plain, and the name राउन्नी रायधनजी. (Fig. 5.)

On the coins of Prágmal, Prágji or Prágmalji (A.D. 1697—1715) is written राउन्नी प्रागजी with the same date. (Fig. 6.)

The next Rao's name, Gódji, Ghórji or Góhódaji (A.D. 1715—1718) is given on another similar coin राउन्नी गोहोद. (Fig. 7.)

The coins of the next Rao, Désalji (A.D. 1718—1741) show more debasement of the Persian legend, and the 9 of the date is upside down. The name is given राउन्नी देसल. (Fig. 8.)

A decided change may be noticed in the next coin (Fig. 9), that of Lakha or Lakhapatji (A.D. 1741—1760). It has more the appearance of a Delhi coin, and probably was so made out of compliment to the Emperor Ahmed Shah, from whom the Rao obtained, we are told, the title of Maháráo, which is found before his name on the coins महाराउन्नी लखप.

With Fig. 10 we come back to the pattern of the 978 Muzaffer one. On it is written राउन्नी गोहा.

Rao Gódji, or Góhódaji II., reigned from A.D. 1760 to 1778.

Then follows the coin of Ráyadhanji II. (A.D. 1778 to 1813). The date is again indistinct. The name given is (राउन्नी) रायध. (Fig. 11.)

The next Rao was Bhármalji II. (A.D. 1814 to 1819). The legend is much debased, but the name is plain (राउन्नी) भारमलज (Fig. 12.)

With Rao Désalji II. (A.D. 1819 to 1860) we come to another pattern; here we find the Delhi legend—

On the obverse : بهادرشاه بادشاه غازي ضرب بهوج.

And on the reverse : राउन्नी देसलजी ११२१.

Dagger and trident.

Other coins bear the Persian legend—

بادشاه غازي محمد اکبر شاه ضرب بهوج

On one side with the Hijra era date ۱۲۵۱ (Fig. 16), and the Nagari legend on the other side with Samvat date.

The early coins of the late Rao Prágmalji II. were very like those of his predecessors, but instead of the name of the Delhi Emperor he put the name of our Queen in the Persian legend.

Obv.—Crescent between trident and dagger at the top. महाराज श्रीप्रागमलजी १९१९.

Rev.—ملک معظم کون وکٹوریا ضرب بهوج نگر (Fig. 13, or in copper as in Fig. 15.)

Afterwards the value of the coin was given in the area thus :—

Obv.—Area. जन शेकडा with dagger beneath.

Margin—चरब कछभूज संवत १९२५.

دو کد ماہ ۵ ط ۳ سنہ ۱۸۶۸

Margin—ضرب کچھ بهوج نگر

Later still the coins of European pattern and of sizes corresponding more to the English rupee and its half were introduced, and are still the currency, such as Fig. 14.

Obv.—Area. Trident, moon, dagger.

कोरीअदी जरबकछनूज १९३९.

Margin—माहराजाधिराज मिरजा महाराओ श्रीप्रागमलजी बहादुर

Rev.—Area.

ملک معظم کون وکٹوریا ضرب بهوج نگر کوری دو و نم ۱۸۷۵

The standard silver coin of Kutch is called a *Kori*; how long it has been so called I cannot ascertain, nor is the origin of the name satisfactorily explained. There is a story that the name was given in this way. Bháráji was, as I have said, forbidden by the Emperor to issue silver coin, and being anxious to get permission to do so, resorted to this artifice. It was customary among the Rajputs of the time to gain the favour of their monarchs by giving their daughters in marriage to them, so Bháráji struck a small silver coin and sent it to the Emperor, no doubt with a handsome consideration, and requested that he would accept this *kumvari* (daughter) for marriage with his *rupee*. The Badsha was pleased at the witty request, and gave permission to the Rao to coin his *kumvaris*. The name thus given to the coin was then adopted as the name of the currency, and soon became corrupted into *korí*, by which it has been known ever since.

Kori cannot be, I think, a corruption of *kauri*, because that word when not restricted to mean the shell *Cypræa moneta*, is used only to denote a copper coin of the smallest value, whereas the *kori* was a silver one of the value of many small copper pieces. The pattern of the coin was an imitation of the Guzerat one, but the size and weight were different, and probably were intended to correspond with Kshatrap and Gupta coins, and perhaps the Gadhia, which were current in Kutch and Guzerat before the Mogul conquest.

Prinsep, in *Indian Antiquities*, Vol. I., page 427, speaking of the Sáh or Kshatrap coins, says: "Their average weight is about 30 grains, agreeing in this respect with the *koris* mentioned by Hamilton (*Hindustan*, Vol. I., page 653), as struck 'in Cutch, four to a rupee, by the Raos and Jáms of Navanagar, with Hindu characters,' but that appears to be a mistake, as a *kori* weighed about 73 grains, and was of the value of about $3\frac{1}{2}$ to the rupee."

The only other silver coin struck until the reign of Prágmají II. was the half *kori* (Fig. 10), but in that Rao's time, when the demand for a larger coin, and one more nearly like the rupee current in the country all around the State, became greater, a coin of the value of 5 *koris*, called a *páñchio*, was struck, and another of $2\frac{1}{2}$ *koris*, called *ardhpanchio* (Fig. 14).

The copper coins were originally of three sizes, all of the same pattern as the *kori*, called *támbio* or *trámbyo*, *dokdo* or *dokra* and *dhinglo* or *dhingalo*, of which Paṇḍit Bhagvánlál Indrají gives me the following account:—

Támbio or *trámbyo* is derived from the Sanskrit *Támrikah* (Prákrit *tímbio*). Though its root meaning is "of copper," in practice it is used to mean a half pice. Originally, I believe, it meant a pice.

Dokdo is Prákrit *Dukkado*, or Sanskrit *Dvikritah*, "twice done," that is, twice a *Támrika*. Though now used to mean one pice, it must originally have been used to mean two pice.

Dhinglo. *Dhinglo* is a Kutchi provincial term for fat, and *lo* is a masculine suffix. Thus *Dhinglo* or *Dhinglo* means something (masculine) fat, hence the fattest coin; and *Dhinglo* is the fattest

coin in Kutch. Though at present it is used for a pice and a half, I think, originally it meant three pice (*támrikas*).

4 Adhadas	=	1 Dokdo.
2 Támbias	=	1 Dokdo.
24 Dokdas	=	1 Kori.
16 Dhingalas	=	1 Kori.

Lieutenant Leech, R.E., gives another account of the currency in 1837 (*Bombay Government Records*, No. XV., New Series), page 212, viz. :—

2 Trambyas = 1 Dokra; 3 Trambyas = 1 Dhingla; 21 and $21\frac{1}{2}$ Dokras = 1 Kori; 8 Koris = 1 Silver Rial; 19 Silver Rials = 1 Gold Rial; 3 Koris = 1 Hyderabad Rupee; 4 Koris = 1 Tatta Rupee; $3\frac{3}{4}$ Koris and 1 Dokra = 1 Surat Rupee; 18 Koris = 1 Itramee.

Again, in the *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. V., page III., the following is given :— “The Rao has a mint at which gold, silver and copper coins are manufactured. The gold coins are the *rávsái mohor*, equal to 100 silver *koris*, the half *mohor* equal to 50 silver *koris*, and the golden *kori* equal to $26\frac{1}{2}$ silver *koris*. The silver coins are the *panchio* equal to five silver *koris*, *ardhpanchio* equal to $2\frac{1}{2}$ *koris*, the *kori* worth about one-fourth of the Imperial rupee (379 *koris* are equal to 100 Imperial rupees), and the half *kori*. The copper coins are the *dhabu*, equal to one-eighth of a *kori*, the *dhingla* equal to $\frac{1}{16}$ th of a *kori*, the *dokda* equal to $\frac{1}{32}$ th of a *kori*, and the *trámbia* equal to $\frac{1}{64}$ th of a *kori*.” The gold coins mentioned here are handsome ones, of the same pattern as the later *koris* of Prágmálji II. It is said that there are also old gold Kutch coins, but I have not seen any.

In Káthiáwâr, there are three States, viz. *Jámanagar* or *Nawánagar*, *Junágar*, and *Porebunder*, having their own coinage. The king of Nawánagar, whose title is Jám, struck his coins of the same pattern as those of Kutch, and called them by the same names, being imitations of the Guzerât coins, and bearing a short Devanâgari legend श्रीजामजी. It is not known when these coins were first issued, but the earliest current were called *Juni koris* throughout Káthiáwâr, and that as lately as thirty years ago. Later coins issued have been mixed with alloy, and are called

Jamsdi koris. There are two sorts of these *koris*. *Tukáfera* or small sized, and *Chakaradd* or disc-like, the former being a little older than the latter. No. 18 is a *Chakaradd*. This type was current and issued until Jám Vibhâji changed it for the following a few years ago. (Fig. 19.)

Obv. :—Within circles and with Rajput dagger on either side of it.

श्री
जाम
विभाजी

Rev. :—Area within circle कोरी. Margin within double circle,

नवानगर १९३६. The present king also changed his copper coinage which is called by the same name as in Kutch—*Trámbio*, *Dokdo*, *Dhingalo*, and added a new one called *Trana Dokadd*, or three *Dokaḍás*. No. 20 is a *Trana-Dokaḍá*.

Obv. :—Area within a circle a Rajput dagger.

margin जामश्री १ विभाजी महाराजाधिराज.

Rev. :—Area within circle चन होकडा. Margin संस्थान नवानगर. संवत् १९२८.

The coin of the Naváb of Junágarh is called by the same name of *koree*, but its type is different from that of the Kutch ones. The design of the first coin of the Naváb Bahadur Khan's Minister Ranchhodji, the Dewán, was on the *Obv.* श्रीहादकेश्वराय नमः Salutation to the Divine Hâtakeswara (the name of the god of his race); and on the *Rev.* श्रीरुघनयजी नमः Salutation to Rughanâthji, his father. But this coin was not allowed by the Naváb to be circulated; it is called *Hâtakeshwar Sái kori*, and is rare now-a-days. Some say that it was not meant to be current, but was for the daily gift to Brâhmins.

Dewán Ranchhodji struck his first coinage in Samvat 1886 or Hijra 1230. This was followed by that commonly called *Dewán Sái kori*, which is as follows :—

Obv. :—In corrupt Persian character بادشاہ غازی محمد اکبر فی سنہ
beneath in Nágari श्रीहीवान.

Rev. :—In corrupt Persian—ضرب جلوس سنہ ۱۲۷۹

In Nāgari बा in centre, गर on left. On right Guzerati numerals ૧૧૧૧ [Samvat era.]

The letters बा stand for बाबि the family name of the Naváb. It is said that the Dewán Ranchhodji persuaded the Naváb that दीवान was His Highness' title bestowed on him by the Emperor of Dehli, but really it was his own, and put on the coin for his own glorification. Except the changing of the dates, this type continued until 1932 Samvat (A.D. 1875), when in the reign of Mahábat Khán the Emperor's name was taken out and Mahábat Khán's own name inserted.

The Ránás of Porebundar did not issue coins until the reign of Sultánji (A.D. 1757), as they were dependents of the Naváb of Junágar. Sultánji became in course of time independent, and he or his son Prathiráj struck coins imitating the type of Kutch koris with a short Nāgari inscription श्रीराणा (Fig. 21.) They are known as Ráná Sái.

ART. III.—*On the Sūktimuktāvali of Jalhana, a new Sanskrit Anthology.*—By Prof. PETER PETERSON.

[Read January 29th, 1886.]

The copy of a Sūktimuktāvali, or necklace of sweet sayings, compiled by one Jalhana, which I lay on the table, is unfortunately defective, containing, as will be seen, neither beginning nor end. Since obtaining it for the Bombay Government's Collection I have heard of a complete copy, which I hope to have in my hands shortly. The complete book contains, I am told, a praśasti in which Jalhana gives information of the usual kind with regard to himself and his lineage. I propose accordingly to reserve any remarks on the scholar to whom we owe this book : and to offer in the present paper some verses from the book itself, which appear to bear on one or two moot points in the history of Sanskrit literature.

Fitz-Edward Hall was the first to quote from one of these anthologies certain verses, dealing with famous poets, and attributed to one Rājasekhara, whom Hall took to be the same as the author of the well-known dramas. Additions have from time to time been made to the list of verses of this kind attributed to a Rājasekhara. I published several from the Hārāvali in my Second Report on the Search for Sanskrit MSS. in the Bombay Circle. The present book contains many more. It may be convenient if I give from it, and from the other anthologies, as complete a list as I can of the verses in question.

1. Akāḷajalada.

अकालजलदेन्दोः सा हय्या वचनचन्द्रिका ।
नित्यं कविचक्रोर्योः पीयते न च हीयते ॥

2. Ānandavardhana.

अनिनातिगभीरेण काव्यतत्त्वनिवेशिना ।
आनन्दवर्धनः कस्य नासीद्वानन्दवर्धनः ॥

3. Kādambarīrāma.

अकालजलद्व्योक्तैश्चैवमात्मकैरेव ।
जातः कादम्बरीरामो नाटके प्रवरः कविः ॥

4. Kārṇāṭī.

सरस्वतीव कार्णाटी विजयाङ्गा जयत्यसौ ।
या वैदर्भगिरां वासः कालिदासाह्नन्तरम् ॥

5. Kālidāsa.

एकोपि जीयते हन्त कालिदासो न केनचित् ।
शृङ्गारे ललितोद्गारे कालिदासत्रयी किमु ॥

6. Kumāradāsa.

ज्ञानकीहरणं कर्तुं रघुवंशे स्थिते सति ।
कविः कुमारदासश्च रावणश्च यदि क्षमः ॥

7. Gaṇapati.

अथो गणपतिं वन्दे महामोदविधायिनं ।
विद्याधरगणैर्यस्य पूज्यते कण्ठगर्जितम् ॥

8. Guṇādhyā.

दृता शिखिनि गीणादया स्तोकशेषापि सा कथा ।
सुरलीढेन्नुल्लेखेव लोके पूज्यतमाभवत् ॥

9. Tārā.

यायावरकुलश्रेणेर्हारयष्टे मण्डनं ।
सुवर्णबन्धरुचिरस्तरलस्तरलो यथा ॥

10. Trilochana.

कर्तुं त्रिलोचनादन्यः कः पार्थविजयं क्षमः ।
तदर्थः शक्यते द्रष्टुं लोचनद्वयिभिः कथम् ॥

11. Daṇḍin.

त्रयोमयस्त्रयो देवास्त्रयो देवास्त्रयो गुणाः ।
त्रयो दण्डप्रबन्धाश्च त्रिषु लोकेषु विश्रुताः ॥

12. Droṇa.

सरस्वतीपवित्राणां जातिस्तत्र न देहिनां ।
व्यासस्पर्धी कुलालोभूयद्द्रोणो भारते कविः ॥

13. Dhanamjaya.

द्विसंधाने निपुणतां स तां चक्रे धनंजयः ।
यया जातं फलं तत्र सतां चक्रे धनं जयः ॥

14. Pāṇini.

स्वस्ति पाणिनये तस्मै यस्य रुद्रप्रसादतः ।
आदौ व्याकरणं काव्यमनु जाम्बवतीजयम् ॥

15. Pradyumna.

प्रद्युम्नाभापरस्वेह नादको पटवो गिरः ।
प्रद्युम्नाभापरस्वेह पौष्पा अपि घराः खराः ॥

16. Prabhudevī.

सूक्तीनां स्मरकेलीनां कल्मषां च विलासभूः ।
प्रभुदेवी कविर्लोदी गतापि हृदि तिष्ठति ॥

17. Baṇa.

सहर्षचरितारब्धाद्भुतकाव्यशरीकया ।
बाणस्य बाण्यनायेव स्वच्छन्दा भ्रमति क्षितौ ॥
बाणेन हृदि लभेन बन्मन्त्रोपि पदक्रमः ।
प्रायः कविकुरङ्गनाणां चापलं तत्र कारणम् ॥

18. Bhāsa.

भासनादकचक्रेपि च्छेकैः क्षिते परीक्षितुं ।
स्वमवासवदत्तस्य राहकोभूज पावकः ॥

19. Bhimata.

कलिञ्जरपतिश्चक्रे भीमदः पञ्चनादकीं ।
प्राप प्रबन्धराज्यत्वं तेषु स्वमदशाननम् ॥

20. Mayūra.

हर्षं कथिभुजंगानां गता भवणगोचरं ।
विषविषेव मायूरी मायूरी वाङ्मि कुन्तति ॥

21. Mātāṅgadivakara.

अहो प्रभाशो वाग्देव्या यन्मातङ्गदिवकरः ।
अहर्षस्याभवत्सम्भ्यः समो बाणमयूरयोः ॥

22. Māyurāja.

मायूराजसमो जज्ञे नान्यः कुलिचुरिः कविः ।
उदन्वतः समुत्तस्थुः कति वा तुहिनांशवः ॥

23. Ratnākara.

मा स्म सन्तु हि चत्वारः प्रायो रत्नाकरा इमे ।
इतीव स कृतो धाम्ना कविरत्नाकरोपरः ॥

24. Rāmilasomila.

तौ शुद्धकथाकारौ रम्यौ रामिलसोमिलौ ।
काव्यं यद्योद्दयोरासीर्धनारीभरोपमम् ॥

25. Vararuchi.

वधार्थता कथं नास्ति मा भूद्धरहचरिह ।
व्यधत्त कण्ठाभरणं यः सशराहणप्रियः ॥

26. Vikāṣanītibā.

के वैकटनितम्बेन गिरां गुम्फेन रञ्जिताः ।
निन्दन्ति निजकान्तानां न मौढ्यमधुरं वचः ॥

27. Śīlābhāṭṭarikā.

शब्दार्थयोः समो गुम्फः पाञ्चाली रीतिरिष्यते ।
शीलाभट्टारिकावाचि बाणोक्तिषु च सा यदि ॥

28. Sātavāhana.

जगत्यां प्रथिता गाथा सातवाहनभूशुजा ।
व्यधुर्धृतेस्तु विस्तारमहो चित्रपरंपरा ॥

29. Subhadrā.

पार्थस्य मनसि स्थानं लेभे खलु सुभद्रया ।
कवीनां च वचोवृत्तिचातुर्येण सुभद्रया ॥

30. Bhāsa and others.

भासो रामिलसोमिलौ वररुचिः श्रीसाहसङ्गः कवि-
मैत्र्यो भारविकालिङ्गसतरलाः स्कन्धः सुबन्धुश्च यः ।
वण्डी बाणदिवाकरौ गणपतिः कान्तश्च रत्नाकरः
सिद्धा यस्य सरस्वती भगवती के तस्य सर्वेपि ते ॥

The verse here which refers to Pāṇini (14) has been published already from the Harihārāvali,* where it is ascribed to Śrī Rājasekhara. It is of course conclusive of the writer's belief in the identity of the poet with the grammarian. The poem referred to is possibly the same as the Pātālaviṇaya by Pāṇini, from which Namisādhū quotes in his commentary on Rudraṭa.

There is nothing new to say about the poet Pāṇini yet. But it would be discourteous not to refer, in connection with that still mysterious shape, to the notice which the veteran scholar Böhtlingk has recently taken of a controversy between Bhandarkar and myself, carried on chiefly before this Society, as to the meaning of a passage in Patañjali which is thought to have a bearing on that writer's date, and through him on that of the grammarian Pāṇini. I shall try in doing so to avoid further controversy : and I begin by putting before you Böhtlingk's paper, omitting all that can be supplied by a reference to the last number of our Journal.†

* My Second Report, p. 61.

† No. XLIII. pp. 180 and 199.

"AN ATTEMPT TO LAY A LITERARY CONTROVERSY,

by

O. BÖHTLINGK.

"A violent controversy has burst out in India between Professors R. G. Bhandarkar and Peterson as to the meaning of a passage in the Mahābhāṣya, which Goldstücker used to determine Patañjali's date. Both scholars reject Goldstücker's translation of the passage: and in so far I fully agree with them. I think however that their way of taking it also fails to hit the nail on the head: and I will suggest another rendering in the hope that I may divert their attention for the moment to myself, and to some extent perhaps damp their mutual fire. Before however I give the passage in question, and my translation, it will be convenient if I set out the rules of Pāṇini to which Patañjali's words refer."

(I omit what immediately follows, in which Böhlingk does this, and gives the translations, by Bhandarkar and myself, which will be found in our papers. It need only be noted that Böhlingk agrees with us, as against Kielhorn, that संप्रति पूजार्थाः are to be taken as two words, not one. Böhlingk's own translation, and the rest of his paper is as follows:—The passage, as he reads it, is prefixed.)

अपण्य इत्युच्यते । तत्रेदं न सिध्यति शिवः स्कन्दो विशाख इति । किं कारणम् । मौर्यैर्हरिण्यायिभिरर्चाः प्रकल्पिताः । भवेत्तासु न स्यात् । वास्वेताः संप्रति पूजार्थास्तासु भविष्यति ।

"In order to be intelligible I translate exactly, though not word for word—'Since अपण्ये is said, Śiva, Skanda, and Viśākha (as names of images) would seem not to be correct forms. Why not? Because the Mauryas out of desire for gold imported idols. It may be that the rule does not apply to those idols: yet if they serve now as objects of worship the rule will be applicable to them.'

"If I am not mistaken we have here simply a piece of hair-splitting on Patañjali's part, of which this is not the only instance known to us. He willingly admits that those idols, at the time when they first appeared, were improperly spoken of by the shorter names, while now that they serve a higher end they are rightly called Śiva, Skanda and Viśākha.

"Bhandarkar understands by the Mauryas the dynasty of that

name: and here I entirely agree with him.* It is in the hope of winning over that acute scholar to my way of taking the passage that I draw his attention to the superfluous एताः in his translation. वास्तु संप्रति पूजार्थाः would have been quite sufficient to convey to us the triviality which Bhandarkar puts in Patañjali's mouth. If Bhandarkar ranges himself with me he will get in our passage a stronger support than heretofore for the views he has, founding on the other well-known examples in the Mahābhāṣya, expressed with regard to the date of the great grammarian. Patañjali's whole animosity, which at first sight must surprise us, becomes quite intelligible if we suppose that the Mauryas had only recently been driven out, and that Patañjali wishes to throw yet another stone at the hated dynasty. The idols introduced by them were still familiar to all, so that Patañjali's spiteful wit would be understood.

"The three idols that are named deserve notice. Skanda is a son of Śiva: and Viśākha is a manifestation of Skanda, sometimes also represented as his son. That Skanda and Viśākha in Patañjali's time were generally recognised as two closely connected deities is clear from Patañjali's own words on Pāṇini VIII. 1, 15. Bhandarkar has already pointed this out. My friend Weber reminds me that Skanda, Kumāra and Viśākha appear on the coins of the Turushka kings (Cf. Ind. St. XVII-180). This perhaps justifies us in taking शिवः in our passage as an interpolation, and in supposing that the Mauryas introduced the general worship of the God of War and his son. In what way the Mauryas made a profit out of idols we cannot certainly say. If they had made them regular objects of trade Patañjali would probably have used some other expression than प्रकल्पित. Perhaps they set the idols up in various places, and levied toll on the pilgrims."

Su far Böhrlingk. The fire he refers to already burns low, and I may hope to examine the version he offers without saying anything that shall fan the embers into a blaze. I find very little to object to in it. Böhrlingk doubts with me the correctness of the reading शिवः, but on other grounds. I may add that Kielhorn, in a note to the preface of the last number of his Mahābhāṣya has gone carefully into the matter, and pronounces in favour of शिवः. Böhrlingk rejects the

* Patañjali speaks of Chandragupta and Pushpamitra when he is under no necessity to cite any kings by name. He must therefore have known of the Maurya dynasty: and it follows that it is not very probable that he would use the word here in another meaning, wholly unknown to us.—Böhrlingk's note.

suggestion I hazarded as to the meaning of स्कन्दो विशाखः. A reference to my paper will show that I considered that point to be immaterial to the argument, though I do not complain of the attention which has been bestowed upon it. The suggestion lost much of its probability in my own mind, from the moment Bhandarkar pointed out that in another place Patañjali clearly distinguishes between the gods Skanda and Viśākha. Böhtlingk's explanation of the word प्रकल्पितः is as doubtful as any of the others that have been put forward. Indeed I do not clearly understand how he does take it. For my own part I still think it simply means "made, fashioned." And I am still obstinately incredulous about the subtle and spiteful reference to recent history which first Goldstücker, on grounds shown, as I hold, by me to be entirely wrong, and now Bhandarkar and Böhtlingk discover in words of Patañjali that are capable of being taken in a much simpler way. The objector says that Śiva, Skanda and Viśākha must be wrong forms. "Why?" says Patañjali. "Images made by the mauryas for money," is the more or less elliptical answer. "Good," rejoins Patañjali, "if you are talking of images made by the mauryas as such, you *must* say Śivaka, &c. But if you are talking of images which are now in worship, the forms Śiva &c. are right." I see no reason to believe that Nāgojibhaṭṭa invented his explanation of the word maurya here; and that the meaning is "otherwise wholly unknown to us" perhaps only illustrates our ignorance. Böhtlingk seems to agree with me in taking the reference to the mauryas as having no specific reference to the three names, but as pointing to a circumstance which throws a general doubt on the correctness of all short names for idols, of which Śiva, Skanda and Viśākha were in the beginning put forward as the first examples that came to hand. Lastly, Böhtlingk agrees with me, and differs from Bhandarkar as to the antecedent or antecedents to which the pronouns तच्च and एताः are to be referred. This is a grammatical crux pure and simple: and I hope that Bhandarkar, whose absence from our meetings is a mutual loss,* may be willing to add to the present paper in its published form a note on that and other points raised by Böhtlingk's version.

[* If Bhandarkar had been present when my paper was read he would not have laboured, as he has done, to prove that my joining the later Pushpamitra and Chandragupta was an after-thought suggested by his criticism. I did that in the first instance in the discussion which followed the reading of my paper. Cf. No. XLIII. p. 355. Bhandarkar has replied to Böhtlingk in the *Indian Antiquary*, 1887.]

I trust I need not apologise for the length of this digression. It is one of the aims of our Society to be a means of communication between Western and Eastern thought: and I have given Böhrling's remarks in full only because that scholar does not, as I could wish he and his colleagues would do, follow Prof. Jacobi's excellent example, and write on things Sanskrit in the English language, even at the risk of a few slips. They would find ample recompense for the trouble this would give them in the wider circle of critics and fellow-workers to which it would introduce them, and they would do a notable service to our younger scholars, who at present remain ignorant of much that seems to European scholars to have been completely established, being, let me add, by no means over ready to confound here the *ignotum* with the *magnificum*.*

To return now to our book Kumāradāsa (6) is the poet to whom Kshemendra refers a verse that is quoted in the Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali.† Rājasekhara tell us here that he was the author of a Jānakīharaṇa, the date of which is later than that of Kālidāsa's Raghuvaiṣa. There is a quotation from the Jānakīharaṇa in Ujjvaladatta's commentary on the Uṇād, Sūtras III. 73. धूसर ईषत्कुण्डः सहिषधूसरितः सरितस्तद इति जानकीहरणे यमकम्. I owe the reference to Aufrecht's preface. It is not unreasonable to suppose that the Jānakīharaṇa of Kumāradāsa was in the time of Ujjvaladatta (between A.D. 1111 and A.D. 1431) as well known as the Raghuvaiṣa of Kālidāsa, and that every scholar knew which of the two writers preceded the other.

The discovery that Kumāradāsa is quoted in Patañjali's Mahābhāṣya has attracted considerable attention, though I am bound to add that the view I put forward as to the bearing the fact has on literary chronology has not, so far, received much support. My theory put briefly, was that Kumāradāsa's verses, of which we have about half a dozen, are all so modern in character that a writer who quotes Kumāradāsa cannot have lived in the middle of the second century before Christ, which is the date generally accepted for Patañjali. In the preface to

[* Our native scholars ought to give a hearty welcome to the New Vienna Oriental Journal in the prospectus of which Dr. Bühler undertakes that so far as possible articles referring to India, or likely to interest Indian students will be published in English, "the *lingua franca* of the Aryans in the East," 1887].

† Journal XLIII. 170.

the separate publication of my paper of Kaṣhemendra's Auchiṭyālaṃkāra I have said that Mr. Telang referred to this part of my paper as, in the light of accepted facts, pointing rather to the conclusion that Kumāradāsa must be put prior to the accepted date for the author of the Mahābhāṣya than to the conclusion I had myself suggested. I wish to correct this. What Mr. Telang really said, he has reminded me, was that he considered it so absolutely established that Patañjali lived in the middle of the second century before Christ, that he would rather accept any other possible theory with regard to the Varatanu sampravādaṭi kukkuṭāḥ quotation than one which would disturb Patañjali's date. I presume Mr. Telang had in his mind such theories as *e.g.*, that Kaṣhemendra was mistaken in ascribing this verse to Kumāradāsa, or that Kumāradāsa, if the verse be his, is in it only filling up the fragment of an older verse which he, like us, found in the Bhāṣya, besides the theory to which I wrongly fixed him. But others, who have noticed the matter, appear to have little difficulty in accepting it as probable that Patañjali is really quoting from Kumāradāsa, though they refuse to admit that it, in any way, follows that Patañjali is a later writer than he has been supposed to be. Kielhorn, who calls the discovery "at least a very interesting one," and has been led by it to publish a complete list of such quotations as he has met with in his study of the great commentary, indicates that in his view the proper conclusion is that Kumāradāsa with the rest of the classical school of poetry must be put back. So too Bühler in a private communication with which he has favoured me disputes the tacit assumption he sees in my argument that "because Kumāradāsa's verses resemble those of the sixth and later centuries they must belong to the same period." He holds that there is absolutely nothing to show that the taste and principles of composition characteristic of the classical poets was developed about 400 or 500 A.D., but that there is, on the contrary, a great deal to show that the poets of the earlier centuries wrote exactly in the same manner. I do not refer to this for the purpose of attempting to rebut it. I wish only to direct attention to the consideration that, assuming Patañjali's date to be fixed at about 150 B.C., then, in so far as the Kumāradāsa verse is worthy of credit, in so far as cause shown for putting *Kālidāsa* back, with the rest of the lyric poetry, to a date prior to that assumed for Patañjali.

I add some brief notes on the remaining verses. Akālalada (1) and Tarala (9) are the names of poets mentioned by the dramatist

Rājaśekhara among his own ancestors. The verse *bhikkāṇi kotarāsāyibhāṇi*, which is given by Aufrecht from the Śārṅgadharapaddhati under Akālalalada stands anonymously in Vallabhadeva's Subhāshitāvali. Aufrecht has suggested that the verse* contains the hidden (paroksha) sense that the sea of poetry lay dried up until Akālalalada appeared. If that is right the verse is probably not by Akālalalada himself. If it is his, he may have got the name from the verse. I will hazard the suggestion that his real name may have been Indu, and that the title Akālalaladen-Indu of Rājaśekhara's verse corresponds to names like Ghaṇṭamāgha, Dīpaśikhakalidāsa, Ātapatrabhāravi and Tālaratnākara.† Of Tarala we know nothing besides. He is praised here as shining in the Yāyāvara tribe like the largest and central pearl in a necklace. Does the verse probably contain an allusion to the title of one of his works.

From the reference to Kādambarirāma (3) it would seem that the writer known under that name was what we now call an adapter. He took Akālalalada's verses, and wove them into dramas, to which he gave his own name. Rājaśekhara appears to imply disapproval of the proceeding. Of the poet Gaṇapati (7) we have one verse in the Subhāshitāvali.‡ Mahāmōḍa may be the name of his poem. The legend of the destruction of the greater part of Guṇādhyā's Bṛihat-kathā (8) is well known. Trilochana, (10) we learn, wrote a Pārthavijaya. Aufrecht cites three verses from the Śārṅgadharapaddhati under Trilochana; one of them is the Bāṇa verse *bānena hridi lagnena*, which in our book is ascribed to Rājaśekhara. What third work of Daṇḍin's Rājaśekhara (11) here puts alongside of the Kāvya-darśa and the Daśakumāracharita must be matter of conjecture. The Droṇa verse (12) has already been given by Aufrecht Z. D. M. G. xxvii. 78. We are to understand from it, I think, that a low-caste writer Droṇa was the author of a Bhārata poem. Dhanamjaya (13) is the Jain author of a

* "The frogs lay like dead things in the clefts of the trees, the tortoises were under ground; the fish now writhed in the broad deep mud banks, now lay bereft of sense: then came to that dry lake a cloud born out of due time (akālalalada), and so wrought that herds of wild elephants plunged up to their necks there, and drank its waters."

† Names of honour given to the respective poets from their verses Śiśup. iv. 20, Raghuvaṇśa vi. 67, Kirāt., v. 39 and Harav. xix. 5.

‡ *भ्राम्यन्महागिरिनिघर्षणलब्धपृष्ठ-*

कण्डूयनक्षणमुखायितगाढनिद्रः ।

मुखाप दीर्घतरघर्घरघोरघोषः

भासाभिभूतजलधिः कमठः स बोध्यात् ॥

Rāghavapāṇḍaviya or Dviṣaṃdhana poem.* There is one verse by Pradyumna (15) in Vallabhadeva's Subhāṣitāvali.† Of the poetess Prabhudevī (16) nothing is known. The Bāṇa verses (17) do not add to our knowledge of that writer. Bhāsa's play the Svapnavāsavadattā (18) is quoted by Abhinavagupta in his Dhvanyālochana. We are perhaps to gather from the verse that no other play of Bhāsa's was extant in Rājasekhara's time. Bhīmata (19) is an unknown dramatist of whom we are told here that he wrote five plays, the best being his Svapna-daśanana. The aho prabhāvo vāgdevyāḥ verse (21) is well known. It shows that Bāṇa, Mayūra (20) and Mātāṅga-divākara were, as Rājasekhara believed, contemporaries at Harsha's court. But there is no warrant for identifying Mātāṅga-divākara with the Jain writer Mānatuṅga, as Hall and Max Müller have done. The fact is that Divākara is the real name of our poet, not Mātāṅga. There is a reference to him under the name Divākara in our verse 20, where he is put in one compound with Bāṇa. In the Sūktimuktāvali the reading in the present verse is chandāla Divākara for mātāṅga Divākara. The Mâyûrāja verse (22) was given by me in my Second Report p. 59, from the Harihārāvali, with the wrong reading मयूरादसमो जज्ञे मान्यः correct the reference to the verse at p. 61 of the Report. The poet's name is Mâyûrāja, and this book contains several of his verses. The Kulichuris are a race of Kshatriyas who are mentioned by the commentators among the feudatories of the Maukharis, Bāṇa's Kādambarī, Introductory verses, 4. See Cunningham, Archæol. Rep. ix. 77 and Fleet's Canarese Dynasties, 11. The Ratnākara (23) and Rāmila and Somila verses I have already noticed. Second Report, p. 61. The Vararuchi verse (25) helps to add the great Vārttikakara to the list of those who found Poetry and Grammar to be sister muses and Kaṇṭhābhararapa gives us the name of one of his poems, possibly that Vārarucham kāvya which is referred to in the Mahābhāṣya (Goldstücker's Pāṇini, p. 146, note). Vikatānitambā (26) and Śilābhāṭṭārikā (27) are two poetesses who are often quoted in the anthologies. In the Sātavāhana verse (28) there is a play on the words jagatyām and dhṛiteḥ. That the gāthās which Sātavāhana strung together should have given contentment (Dhṛiti) to the world (jagatyām) is, says the poet, as if Sātavāhana

* My Second report, p. 61 note.

* दारिद्यानलसंतापः ज्ञानतः संतोषवारिणा ।
याचकाशाविघातास्तर्दाहं को नाम पश्यतु ॥

had composed in the Jagatī metre and, by so doing, given currency to the Dhṛiti metre. Of the poetess Subhadrā (29) there is one example in the Subhāshitāvali.* The Bhāsa verse (30) has often been quoted. Aufrecht, from the Śārṅgadharapaddhati, Z. D. M. G. xxvii. 77, reads सौमिलौ. I have noted that the verse is given in the Hārāvali anonymously. As to the poets mentioned in it I will here only say that Aufrecht has recently, Z. D. M. G. xxxvi. 511, given a verse by Sāhasāṅka from Śrīdharadāsa's Saduktikarpāmrita.†

It remains to consider briefly how far these memorial verses are worthy of credit. [We find them in anthologies which carry back the traditions they embody the respectable distance of at least four or five centuries. In these anthologies they are ascribed to Rājasekhara, and the Harihārāvali professes to quote them from a Bhojaprabandha of that author. Rājasekhara is mentioned by Somadeva in his Yaśastilaka, a book written in A.D. 959 or the middle of the century, and he mentions Ratnākara a writer who flourished in the middle of the tenth century. His own date lies between these two extremes, and it is a fair inference from the nature of the references that of the three writers Ratnākara, Rājasekhara and Somadeva, the first two stand nearer in time to each other than the second two do. But for our purpose it is enough to say that Rājasekhara flourished about the beginning of the 10th century‡] He stands then somewhat higher than

* दुग्धं च यत्तदनु यत्कथितं ततो नु
माधुर्यमस्य हतमुन्मथितं च वेगात् ।
जातं पुनर्धृतकृते नवनीतवृत्ति
स्नेहोनिबन्धनमर्थपरंपराणाम् ॥

† पक्षावुत्क्षिपाति क्षितौ निपतति क्रोडं नखैरुल्लिख-
त्युद्राष्येण च चक्षुषा सहचरं ध्यात्वा मुहूरीक्षते ।
चक्राङ्गु दिवसावसानसमये तत्तत्करोत्याकुला
येनाल्लोहितमण्डलेऽपि कृपया यात्येष नास्तं रविः ॥

I would read सहचरी and वीक्षते in β, and चक्राङ्गी and तत्तत्करोत्याकुलो in γ

[‡ The bracketed passage here has been substituted at the moment of publication for an attempt made in the paper as it was read to distinguish between the dramatist Rājasekhara and a later writer of the same name. The reasons were given briefly some months later (March 1886) in the introduction to the edition of Vallabhadeva's Subhāshitavali put out by Durgaprasāda and myself, and reference was made to this paper for a fuller statement. It seems useless now to call attention to arguments in which we have ourselves lost faith. We were wrong in identifying Kshīrasvāmin, the

Kshemendra (circ. 1050 A.D.) and statements as to the history of the literature which are fairly traceable to either of these two learned writers have undoubtedly, it seems to me, a great *primā facie* importance for us. They are certainly not to be dismissed as on a par with the legend which represents the author of the *Nalodaya* to be the same as the author of *Śakuntalā*, as Bhandarkar would have us do.* I am not insensible to the considerations which impose a certain reserve and caution on us in using the statements found in these verses.† But we need not go into the other extreme: and cast them aside as worthless. To say nothing of the fact, as I believe it to be, that no single statement of Rājasekhara which we are in a position to test, has been shown to be wrong, I think it may be laid down as a general principle in these inquiries, that where the writer is not evidently merely romancing, and where there is any presumption at all that he is speak-

commentator Amarakośa, who quotes the dramatist, with the Kshīra who flourished at the court of Jayāpīḍa (not Jayasīṅha). We should have followed Aufrecht's guidance in that matter, Z. D. M. G. xxviii, 164, Kshīrasvāmin belongs to the eleventh century. It would be inconvenient to notice here all that has been written recently as to the dramatist's date. Durgaprasāda has given in No. 13 of his *Kāvya-mālā* a full statement of the case as it now appears to us. I welcome V. S. Apte's paper on Rājasekhara as a first attempt on the part of that diligent scholar in a field where Native scholarship is for the moment, I think, too lethargic. I hope Apte will go on. Mr. Fleet (*Indian Antiquary*, June 1887) has rightly disclaimed all responsibility for the mistake which led Durgaprasāda and myself to assign the dramatist to the eighth century. He kindly told me that he knew of a Mahendrapāla who was reigning in A.D. 761; and we too precipitately accepted this as a confirmation of our original mistake. See his paper for the grounds on which he holds that Rājasekhara lived about the first quarter of the tenth century A.D. Bhandarkar tells me that he too withdraws the identification of Kshīrasvāmin with Jayāpīḍa's teacher (*Introduction to Mālatīmādhava*), and accepts generally the views put forward by Durgaprasāda in his *Kāvya-mālā* 13, 1887.]

* Journal XLIII., 204. The *Nalodaya* was written in Samvat 1664, and its ascription to Kālidāsa was one of the idlest mistakes made by pandits who have little in common with writers like Rājasekhara and Rātnākara.

† Compare for example, Aufrecht, Z. D. M. G. XXXII., 307, "Wiederholentlich habe Ich mich darüber ausgesprochen, dass die Angaben über die Verfasserschaft von miscellanen verses mit Vorsicht aufzunehmen sind—I have repeatedly pointed out that the statements as to the authorship of miscellaneous verses must be accepted with caution."

ing of that he knows, a rash incredulity with regard to all he says is quite as likely to be obstructive to progress as the rash credulity against which we are sometimes warned. That this has been so in the past I am confident. I will close this paper with a striking instance of the act which has recently come under my own observation.

In constructing the text of their edition of the Hitopadeśa in 1829 the illustrious scholar Wilhelm von Schlegel and C. Lassen found at the end of one of their MSS. a verse which they rejected as an interpolation : and in the volume of notes put out two years afterwards it is thus disposed of by Lassen :—" I should not have had to add more to this little work of mine had the copyist of one of my manuscripts not been pleased to shove into the text a verse by no means worthy of the place he gives it, but which I suppose must be written out :

अन्यथास्तु ।

प्रालेयाद्रेः सुतायाः प्रणयिनि वसतिश्चन्द्रमौलिः स याव-
द्यावल्लक्ष्मीर्मुखरौ जलम् इव तडिन्मानसे विस्फुरन्ती ।
यावत्स्वर्णाचलोसौ ववह्नसमो यस्य सूर्यस्फुलिङ्ग-
स्तावन्नारायणेन प्रचरतु चरितः संग्रहोयं कथानाम् ॥

The couplet requires correction, but I do not care to waste paper on verses so worthless."

It is hardly credible, but it is the fact, that the verse treated in this contemptuous fashion contains, and has very naturally for sixty years concealed from us, the name of the author of the Hitopadeśa, as furnished by that writer himself. I have been lately engaged in preparing an edition of the Hitopadeśa for our Bombay Sanskrit series : and have been able to use a very old MS. in the Collection of the Government. What the copyist of Schlegel's MS. did, if justice has been done to him was, not to shove a verse into his text, but to leave one out, a much more intelligible act on his part it may be remarked in passing. For in my manuscript the book closes with two verses as follows :—

प्रालेयाद्रेः सुतायाः प्रणयनिवसतिश्चन्द्रमौलिः स याव-
द्यावल्लक्ष्मीर्मुखरेर्जलम् इव तडिन्मानसे विस्फुरन्ती ।
यावत्स्वर्णाचलोयं ववह्नसमो यस्य सूर्यः स्फुलिङ्ग-
स्तावन्नारायणेन प्रचरतु रचितः संग्रहोयं कथानाम् ॥
श्रीमान्धवलचन्द्रोसौ जीयान्माण्डलिको रिपून् ।
येनायं संग्रहो यस्माल्लेख्यित्वा प्रचारितः ॥

Nārāyaṇa therefore was the author of the book and in the lines which his German editor would have none of, he is really making a modest, but very nearly unsuccessful attempt, to secure the credit for it to all coming time, while in the second of the two verses he does not forget to sing the praise of his generous patron, Prince Dhavalachandra, who stood to him for a publisher.

ART. IV.—*My Visit to the Vienna Congress.* BY RAMKRISHNA
GOPAL BHANDARKAR, M.A., Ph.D., HON. M.R.A.S.

[Read February 11th 1887.]

When my college friend and classfellow, Mr. Javirilal Umiashankar Yajnik, saw me a few hours after my return to Bombay from Europe, and proposed that I should give an account of my visit at a meeting of this Society, I had no hesitation in saying that that was the last place I should myself think of for such a purpose. My visit to Europe was of a very short duration, and though I could say something that might interest an ordinary native audience, I had very little to communicate that was worthy of being listened to by such a learned body as the Bombay Asiatic Society. Besides, even as regards a mixed native audience, so many natives of the country had visited Europe before me, and lived there for a number of years, and communicated their experiences to their countrymen after their return by publishing books and pamphlets and delivering lectures, that short as my visit was, I could have nothing new to tell even to such an audience. My scruples, it appears, were communicated to the respected President of the Society, who, thereupon suggested that I should give principally an account of the Congress of Orientalists held at Vienna to which I had been deputed, and in connection with that some of the impressions which what I saw in Europe had produced on my mind. To this I assented, and I thus appear before you to-day.

I arrived in London on Saturday, the 28th of August, and stayed there till Thursday, the 9th of September. On the afternoon of this day I left for Oxford, where I spent the next three days. On Monday I went thence to Birmingham, and returned to London on the following Wednesday. The next four days I spent in London, and left England for France on Monday, the 20th. In London I saw St. Paul's Cathedral, Westminster Abbey, the House of Commons, India Office, the National Gallery, the Guildhall, the British Museum, the Tower of

London, the Kew Gardens, Hampton Court, the Royal Exchange, the Bank of England, the Hyde Park, the Albert Memorial, the Albert Hall, and the Indian and Colonial Exhibition. I had unfortunately none to guide me in London, as I had in Oxford and Birmingham, and therefore I did not see as much or as well as I might have. I met our late Secretary, Dr. Codrington, in Vienna, and on my informing him that I had been to London, he told me he was in London during the time I was there, and had he known of my being there he would have been glad to take me with him and show me all the sights. I was very sorry that I did not know Dr. Codrington was in London; but as it was, everybody was very busy and nobody could make it convenient to go with me. I cannot stop here to give the impression that each of the buildings and institutions I saw produced on my mind, and my general impression I will give further on.

I wore in Europe my usual Maratha costume, the turban, the long coat, and the white *uparpen* or scarf. In the streets of London and in the places I visited, therefore, I often met persons who stopped me with the words *bahut garami hoti hai, salām*, &c. The conversation thus begun in Hindustani was continued in English, and I was asked to what part of India I belonged, and where I was going. These were Anglo-Indians; and they told me how long they were in India and in what part, and spoke of the days they spent in the country with agreeable feelings. I was once accosted in Marathi near the Royal Exchange with the words *तुम्ही कोठून आला*, "Whence do you come?" I said I was from Bombay, and asked the gentleman whether he was in the Maratha country, to which he replied in Gujarati, *अने कट्टियाडमां होता*, "I was in Kattia-war." *आमनुं काम छं हतुं* "What office did you hold there?" I asked. *अने पोलिटिकल एजेंट होता* "I was Political Agent," was the reply. Then I asked in Marathi *आपण आंडरसन साहेब काय*, "Are you Anderson Sahab?" to which he replied, "Yes." Then we went on speaking in English together, and he was kind enough to go with me and show me the Office of the Oriental Bank to which I wanted to go.

The first person I saw in London was Dr. Rost, Librarian, India Office, who received me very kindly. I visited him several times, and on one occasion he remarked that my lectures on the Sanskrit and the derived languages, three of which the Society did me the honour of publishing in their journal last year, were very important, and wished me to complete them as soon as I could. The second time that I saw him in the India Office library, Dr. Eggeling, Professor of Sanskrit in the

University of Edinburgh, happened to be there, and I was introduced to him by Dr. Rost. Professor Eggeling has been compiling a descriptive catalogue of the Sanskrit manuscripts in the India Office library, on the model of Professor Aufrecht's Oxford Catalogue, and he had come that day to London to examine some of the manuscripts carefully. I had an interesting conversation with him, and in his congenial company, and in that of Dr. Rhys Davids, the Pāli scholar, to whom I was introduced by Professor Eggeling three or four days afterwards, I felt myself at home. I passed a very agreeable evening with them at the National Liberal Club, of which Dr. Rhys Davids is a member. We had a long conversation on a variety of topics, ranging from Buddhistic metaphysics to English and Indian politics, including the annexation of Burma. Dr. Rhys Davids seemed to be full of admiration for the freedom, boldness, and truth of the religious and philosophic thought of ancient India about the time of Buddha, to which the modern world according to him presents no parallel. Professor Eggeling did not quite agree with him, taking into consideration the development of philosophic speculation since the time of Kant, and I was disposed to sympathize with him, though as regards religious ideas and theories I perfectly agreed with Dr. Rhys Davids. According to Dr. Rhys Davids, the Buddhistic ideal is the condition of an Arhat who enjoys profound internal peace undisturbed by passion. It is a condition of holiness, goodness, and wisdom. This seems in his opinion to be at the bottom of the religious aspirations of man, or probably the only thing that is valuable in those aspirations, and this alone Buddhism set up as an ideal to be striven for by the religious man, to the exclusion of the ideas of God, the human soul as one unchangeable substance, and eternal existence. Dr. Rhys Davids is an enthusiastic Pāli scholar, and has succeeded in organizing the Pāli Text Society, in connection with which, with the aid of other scholars, he has been publishing in annual instalments the sacred books of the Southern Buddhists. The service he has thus been rendering to the cause of scholarship and research is invaluable. But it is very much to be regretted that he cannot devote his whole time to his studies, and has to work for his bread at the bar. If he had been a German he would have got a Professorship somewhere. He is, however, Professor of Pāli in the London University, but without pay and without pupils. He is a candidate for the vacant Secretaryship of the Royal Asiatic Society, which is a paid appointment ; and I have no doubt, if elected,

he will be of very great service to the Society ; but it is by no means certain that he will get the appointment. I saw him on one occasion in his rooms in Brick Court, when he showed me some splendid Pāli manuscripts which had been presented to him, if I remember right, by the king of Siam.

Another gentleman with whom I came in contact in London and who was very kind to me was Colonel Henry Yule, Member of the India Council and President of the Royal Asiatic Society. Mr. Edward Thomas, a Bengal Civilian, who, after his retirement devoted himself to the study of Indian antiquities, and Dr. J. Fergusson, a zealous student of ancient Indian architecture and archæology, both of whom were active members of the Royal Asiatic Society, are dead. The Society's Secretary, Mr. Vaux, has also rather suddenly been removed by death at an early age and another not yet appointed ; so that the Society is not in a very flourishing condition at present ; and Colonel Yule observed to me how difficult it was for them to get enough matter for the Society's journal. I also came in contact with Mr. J. S. Cotton, Editor of the Academy, who was once employed by the Secretary of State to examine the materials in the India Office, and digest them into a report on the advancement or condition of India ; and he seemed to be very familiar with Indian matters.

At Oxford I was received with cordiality and almost enthusiastic kindness by my old master, Mr. Sidney Owen, who was Professor of History and Political Economy in the Elphinstone College, from January 1857 to April 1858, and his family. Here I had before me the charming and edifying spectacle of a well-regulated, high-toned, and happy English family. The one object of father, mother, sons, and daughters seemed to be to please me ; and I felt I was in the midst of persons who had, as it were, found in me a long-lost son or brother. Oxford was at this time empty, the Colleges having vacation, and all I could see was the buildings. Mr. Owen showed me Magdalen, Christ Church, Worcester, Baliol, and others. The quadrangles with the green grass nicely trimmed, the gardens and walks, and the canals give a rural, quiet, and pleasing appearance to the scene calculated to compose the mind and dispose it to contemplation, thought, and study. Within the premises of the same college there are often buildings in three different styles of architecture, the mediæval, that of the seventeenth century, and the modern. It was a curious sight of a nature to awaken

historical associations rather than produce a sensation of harmony, the stone of the mediæval buildings in particular being in a crumbling condition. But even this characteristic is calculated, I suppose, to confirm the reflective mood. I also saw the Sheldonian Theatre where the commemoration is held, the Bodleian Library, the Martyr's Memorial, and others. I paid a visit to Professor Max Müller, who unfortunately was not in good spirits on account of the recent loss of a favourite daughter. He regretted very much that he should have been in that condition at the time of my visit. He wished to see more of me than he could under the circumstances. Still I had a pleasant and interesting conversation with him for an hour and a half. He told me he had quoted my lectures in a paper that he had been publishing in a German periodical, and read a passage from that paper in which he interprets the expression *bhāshārthāḥ* occurring in connection with certain roots in the Dhātupāṭha as meaning "roots the sense of which is to be known from the spoken language." Though of course I am a strong advocate of the view that Sanskrit was the Vernacular of the Indian Aryans, and think I have proved the point in my last lecture, still I did not believe that the expression *bhāshārthāḥ* meant what the Professor said, and was sorry not to be able to agree with him. Then he spoke to me about a letter he had received from the late Divan of Bhaunagar, Mr. Gaurisankar, which was written on the occasion of his assuming the order of Sannyāsa, and about a copy of the new Sannyāsin's work on the Vedānta presented to him by the author. Professor Max Müller spoke approvingly of the doctrine of the Vedānta that the contemptibility and misery of life come to an end when an individual soul knows himself to be the same with Brahma or the Supreme soul. As I am not an admirer of the doctrine in the form in which it is taught by Śaṅkarāchārya and which alone is now the prevalent form in India, I observed that though according to his system a man must rise to the knowledge, "I am Brahma," previous to his entering on the state of deliverance or of eternal bliss, still it is essential that the feeling of *me* or *egoism* should be destroyed as a necessary condition of entrance into that state. The *me* is the first fruit of ignorance, and it must be destroyed in the liberated condition. A soul has no individual consciousness when he is delivered, and in that state he cannot have the knowledge, "I am Brahma." The illustration often given of a liberated soul that becomes one with Brahma is that of the space or ether that is

enclosed in an earthen jar becoming one with the infinite outer space or ether when the jar is broken to pieces. In such an absorption into or identification with Brahma when there is no individual consciousness and no knowledge that "I am the Brahma," what happiness can there be? Besides, the proposition, "I am Brahma," does not according to Śaṅkarāchārya's system mean I am one with the Supreme soul, who is the author of the Universe and who dwells in the Universe so full of beauty and grandeur. This, I believe, is the idea of the author of the Vedāntasūtra and of some of the Upanishads; but with Śaṅkarāchārya the Universe or Creation is an illusion like that perceived by a man who sees a rope in darkness and mistakes it for a serpent, and flies away from it through fear. Misery, worldly happiness, sinfulness, littleness, and indeed all finite thought and feeling, are illusions. When these are dispelled the soul is free and happy and without finiteness or limitations, so that the proposition, "I am Brahma," means "I am not the miserable, sinful, little soul, tied down to this or that mode of thought or feeling, that I appear to myself to be; but a free, blissful, unchanging, and unconditioned soul." This is the real nature of the soul, and anything at variance with it that is felt is an illusion; so that Śaṅkarāchārya's ideal is not to become one with another being who is the Supreme Ruler of all but to see that oneself is really a blissful and unconditioned being. Though I might admire the doctrine about the first ideal, I do not think the latter to be very charming. This discussion we carried on for some time, and then turned to other matters. Professor Max Müller made me a present of a copy of the four parts of the *Anecdota Oxoniensia* as a memento of our short meeting, and with a few complimentary remarks on my work in the field of scholarship, for which I feel very thankful to him, brought the conversation to a close.

On Sunday, the 12th, I was introduced by Mr. Owen to Professor Jowett. He received me very kindly, but nothing of importance was said in the short conversation that followed.

I went to Birmingham to have a glimpse of Industrial England. Fortunately I found an obliging friend in Colonel A. Phelps, late Commissary-General, Bombay. The British Association for the Advancement of Science recently held its meetings at the place, and an exhibition of the arts and industries of Birmingham had been got up for the occasion. Colonel Phelps took me twice to see the exhibition, and there I saw the products of an immense variety of industries with the latest

improvements, from a new apparatus for electric lighting without the high tension so dangerous to life that is a drawback in the present mode, to a machine for washing clothes by means of steam, and school furniture so manufactured as to avoid the evils such as shortsightedness, which result from the use of the present kind of furniture. The kind Colonel also showed me the engine factory of Tangyes, Gillott's pen factory, and a pin factory. He then took me to the Birmingham Municipal Offices and Town Hall, both of which are splendid buildings, and in the afternoon to the Liberal Club, where I saw a great many members in the dining and the smoking-rooms. Mr. Chamberlain came in a short while after we entered, and I was introduced to him by the Colonel. A short but interesting conversation followed. Mr. Chamberlain endeavoured to excuse himself from attending to the affairs of India, while I strove hard to fix the ultimate responsibility of governing the country on the British Parliament and through it on each member, and especially on the leaders of parties.

After having seen so much of England I started from London for Vienna on the 20th. I went by way of Paris where I could spend only two days, during which, however, I saw so much as to make my head giddy. I saw the artificial lakes, the grand cascade, the race-course, the dismantled palace of St. Cloud, the palace, galleries, and park of Versailles, the Louvre, Luxembourg, Pantheon, the porcelain and tapestry manufactories which, I was told, are maintained at the expense of Government, and other places. Paris appeared to me to be a beautiful town, the palace at Versailles with the parks and avenue in front is superb, and the pictures at that palace and in the Louvre are innumerable and beautiful. The French appeared to me to be a nation of lovers of beauty and spared no expense, since the Government maintained even factories for painting pictures on porcelain and weaving them by means of coloured thread. But when certain places in the town called to my memory the frightful deeds of the people during the first revolution and of the Commune in 1871, the melancholy reflection forced itself on me that even an intense love of beauty, which I consider to be heavenly, is not necessarily associated in the human heart with a heavenly or angelic character, and that it is a mere passion in the human breast like rage and resentment. I was sorry not to have met any of the French Oriental scholars in Paris. I had very little time, and besides I was told that one of them, Monsieur Senart, was not in town, and I subsequently learned that even Monsieur Barth was absent. From

Paris I went to Munich, where I stopped for a day. I found it to be a charming little town. There is an excellent museum, and a building in an elevated position called the Maximilian College, which commands a very fine view. I saw these and also a bronze colossus representing Bavaria, behind which there is a corridor in the shape of three sides of a rectangle with marble busts of the great men of the country placed in niches in the walls. The view from this point also is commanding, and in the light of the morning sun the place looked very charming and well suited for contemplation. From Munich I went on Saturday, the 25th, to Vienna, the place of my destination, which I reached at about 9 p. m.

The next morning Dr. Rost and Dr. Kielhorn came to see me at the Hotel de France, which is situated close to the University. We walked together for about an hour and returned by a tramcar to the University. The meetings of the Congress were held in this building, and the office of the managing committee was also located there. We stepped into the office and signed our names in the Register of members. In the evening a *conversazione* was held at one of the hotels in order that the members of the Congress might make each other's acquaintance. The attendance was very large, and I was introduced to and exchanged cards with a great many scholars. There were two Egyptians with an ivory complexion and Turkish caps, a Chinaman, the Secretary of the Chinese legation in his national costume with the long pigtail, a Japanese in European costume, an Indian Mussulman, native of Aligarh and educated at Cambridge, similarly dressed, and myself with my turban and *uparneh*. The Chinaman's knowledge of French was greatly admired, and they said he spoke the language perfectly as well as a Parisian.

The next morning at ten o'clock the members of the Congress gathered together in the large hall of the University. Opposite to them on the other side of a large table sat the members of the Committee of Organization with the minister of Public Instruction and Archduke Rainer, who is a great patron of learning in Austria. The Archduke in a short speech declared the Congress open, after which the Minister of Public Instruction rose and welcomed the members of the Congress in the name of the Government. He was followed by the President, Baron Kremer, who delivered a long address in French. Then the leaders of the different deputations rose one after another and made a few observations, and those who had brought

presents for the Congress laid them on the table. In the afternoon the different sections met in the rooms assigned to them, and after the election of the President and Vice-President, papers were read and discussed. As I belonged to the Âryan Section I witnessed the proceedings of its meetings only. I will therefore confine myself to an account of them. Our President was Prof. Roth of Tübingen and Vice-President, Prof. Weber. Among the members who attended were Dr. Rost of the India Office ; Professors Bühler of Vienna, Kielhorn of Göttingen, Ludwig of Prague, Jacobi of Kiel, Leumann of Strasburg Kühn of Munich, Jolly of Wurzburg, and Windisch of Leipsic ; Drs. Hoernle of Calcutta, Cartellieri of Vienna, Macdonell of Oxford, and Stein of Buda-Pest ; and Messrs. Bendall of the British Museum, Grierson, a Bengal Civilian, and McAuliffe, a Panjab Civilian, and Capt. Temple. Dr. Cust of the Royal Asiatic Society of London attended some of the meetings, and we had an American gentleman of the name of Leland, who has made the language of the Gipsies his special study. There were two French scholars of the names of Milloué and Guimet, and an Italian scholar named Lignana. There were other members whose names I do not remember. Our average attendance was about 45. Prof. Max Müller did not come on account of the unfortunate occurrence I have already mentioned, and the other scholars conspicuous by their absence to me, at least, were Professors Oldenberg of Vienna, Aufrecht of Bonn, Kern of Leyden, Eggeling of Edinburgh, and Dr. Böhrtlingk of Jena. The Âryan section met also on the following days, the last sitting being held on Saturday. Englishmen and myself read papers in English, and the German scholars in German with the exception of Dr. Stein, the Hungarian and Dr. Hoernle, who used English. One of the French scholars only read a paper, and this was in French ; and the Italian read in the language of his country. These four languages only were recognised by the Congress. Mr. Bendall read a paper on the discovery in Nepal of a new alphabet with arrow-head characters. Specimens were exhibited on the occasion, but I felt convinced that the alphabet was only one of the many varieties of the Nîgarî, and what looked like arrow-heads were only the short horizontal strokes which occur at the top of each Nîgarî letter. They were thicker in this manuscript than usual and written in a manner to make one end narrower than the other. Mr. Grierson appeared before the section twice, once to read a paper on some of the dialects of the Hindi, and at another time with observations

on Tulasidāsa and other Hindī poets. This gentleman has been doing very useful work by studying the peculiarities of the Hindī, as spoken in the provinces of Behar and Mithilā, and publishing grammars of the dialects prevalent there. The Āryan section adopted a resolution recommending to the Government of India the institution of a regular survey of the spoken dialects of India. I read at the first day's meeting extracts from my Report on the search for manuscripts which is now in the Press, and placed before the section an old Palm-leaf manuscript of a Jaina work hitherto unknown that had been discovered in the course of the search now conducted by Dr. Peterson and myself, and which would have been placed before the section by Dr. Peterson himself if he had been present. This excited a good deal of curiosity, and one of the scholars gave it as his opinion that the work belonged to that branch of the Jaina sacred literature which is known by the name of Pūrvas, and which is by some believed to be more ancient than the other branches, without, in my opinion, sufficient reason. At another meeting Prof. Roth made a few observations on the peculiarities of Vedic grammar, dwelling principally on the fact that when a noun and an adjective are used together the case termination is often found affixed to one of them only, as in the instances परने व्योमन्, महिना जनूषि, &c. Prof. Jacobi read a paper in which he endeavoured to show that the Brahmanic hero-god, Krishna, was admitted by the Jainas very early, more than a century before the beginning of the Christian era, into the list of their holy personages. Prof. Kuhn appeared with a paper on the dialects of Kaśmīr and the Hindu Kush. One of Dr. Bühler's pupils, a young man of the name of Dr. Cartellieri showed, by comparing passages in Subandhu's Vāsavadattā with similar ones occurring in Bāṇa's Kādambarī, that Bāṇa adopted, in a good many cases, Subandhu's images, and often his very words and expressions, so that the doubts thrown on Subandhu's priority to Bāṇa were groundless. Dr. Hoernle read a paper on an old manuscript of a work on Arithmetic found at Bakkhālī in the north of Panjab in a ruined enclosure. It is written in a character which is a variety of the Kaśmīr character known by the name of Śāradā; and Dr. Hoernle thought it was transcribed in the 8th or 9th century. The character appeared to me not very different from or very much more ancient than that in which Kaśmīr manuscripts about 100 or 150 years old are written. Dr. Hoernle had read a paper on the same manuscript about three years before at a meeting of the

Bengal Asiatic Society. Mr. Leland read a paper on the Gipsy language, in which he traced the origin of the Gipsies to India; Captain Temple gave some account of the Dictionary of Hindustani Proverbs that he has been compiling; the Italian scholar read a few remarks on the words Navagva and Daśagva occurring in the Rīgveda; and the French, an essay on the myth of Vṛishabha, the first Tīrthamkara of the Jainas. A few other papers were also read.

At one of its meetings the Section adopted a resolution asking the Government of India to restore the appointment of epigraphical surveyor, as the arrangements proposed by Dr. Burgess for getting translations of inscriptions done by different scholars willing and qualified to do them were considered unsatisfactory, and to re-appoint Mr. Fleet to it. I must here observe that I did not quite approve of such a personal question being brought before that learned body.

One thing in connection with the work of the Semitic section that came to my notice must here be mentioned. Prof. Karabacek read a report on the paleographical results furnished by some of the papyri or documents written on pieces of the papyrus which were found in Egypt. These were purchased by the Archduke Rainer, who paid more than 25,000 florins for them. I went to the place where they are kept and exhibited, and was told that some of them were more than two thousand years old. There is among them an original order issued by the Caliph Amru, which bears his own signature. The papyri were found rolled up, and it is a very difficult thing to unroll them in a manner not to break them into pieces. This however is done very carefully by Prof. Karabacek and his coadjutors; and there is a large photographic apparatus in the building by means of which the papyri are photographed, and copies of the size of the original printed off from the negative in the colour of the original.

On Monday, or the first day, an evening party was given by the minister of Public Instruction. Besides the members of the Congress there were other distinguished guests, among whom was the British Ambassador, Sir Augustus Paget. On Wednesday, a sumptuous entertainment was given in the afternoon by the Burgomaster in the large banqueting hall of the Rathhaus. The Rathhaus or Townhall is an extensive and noble building round which the learned guests were taken, previous to their being led into the banqueting hall. Refreshments were laid on the table, and the best available music provided for the occasion. In the evening of the same day, there was a

reception at the residence of Archduke Rainer. There was an unlimited supply of the best Viennese sweetmeats, and tea, coffee, and ices. A good many persons, including myself, were introduced to the Archduke and the Duchess, who spoke a few words to them in German, French, or English. On Thursday, a grand dinner was given in the evening by the Committee of organization, and there were toasts and post-prandial speeches as usual. In the afternoon of Friday, the members of the Congress were taken in river-steamboats by the Danube canal and by a special train up a hill in the vicinity called Kahlenburg, the view from which is splendid. The whole city of Vienna lay at our feet at a short distance, and with hills on the sides, the scene was charming. We spent about an hour at the place and returned home a little after sunset.

Dr. Bühler had told me a day or two before the dinner on Thursday to compose a few verses in Sanskrit and sing them in reply to one of the toasts. I said I would rather sing them at a meeting of the Āryan section, where I should have a select audience that would understand me. Accordingly I composed eight verses in different metres and sung them in the manner we usually do in India, at the final meeting of the Āryan section on Saturday morning. After that was over, I read some of the hymns in the R̥gveda Samhitā in the manner in which they are recited by Vaidika Brahmans here, as some of the German scholars were anxious to hear how the accents are indicated in pronunciation.

The sight of so many men from different parts of Germany and Europe who had chosen a life of study and thought, and who applied themselves with such devotion and zeal to the study of the sacred language of my country and its varied literature, was very gratifying to me. The spirit that actuated them appeared to be that of the old R̥shis of India, who cared little for worldly possessions and devoted themselves to a life of study and meditation. In the ancient times in India whenever any grand sacrifice was performed by a great king, Brahmans from all parts of the country assembled at the place and held debates and discussed abstruse points. One such congress of R̥shis is reported in the Bṛihadāraṇyaka Upanishad and the Vāyu Purāṇa. Janaka, the king of Mithilā, performed a horse-sacrifice, and a great many learned Brahmans from the Kurupañchālas or the country about Thanesar, Mathurā, Delhi, and Agra flocked to the place. Janaka wished to find out who among these was the most learned and knew the

Brahma or the highest truth the best, and therefore brought forth a thousand cows and tied pieces of gold of the weight of ten tolas to the horns of each. Then he said to the Brahmans: "That one among you who knows the Brahma the best should take away these cows." None of the Brahmans dared to take them, when Yājñavalkya said to a pupil of his, "Young man, drive these cows home." The pupil began to do so, when all the other Brahmans got angry, saying, "What, does he think himself to be the one among us who knows the Brahma the best?" Janaka had a priest of the name of Áśvala, who said to him: "Well, Yājñavalkya, are you the one of us all who knows the Brahma the best." Yājñavalkya replied, "I am but an humble servant of one who knows the Brahma the best; I only want the cows." Then the priest Áśvala put a question to Yājñavalkya, and he was followed by a great many others who put similar questions, requiring him to explain a large variety of points concerning the ritual, the gods, the soul, the supreme cause of the world and the soul of all, good deeds, bad deeds, &c. Among his interlocutors was a lady of the name of Gārgî Vāchaknavî who, in her own words, "attacked him with two questions as a warrior of Kāśî or Videhas attacks an enemy with two arrows on his strung bow." Yājñavalkya answered satisfactorily the questions of all. This is a celebrated chapter in that Upanishad, and is very important for the history of ancient Indian thought. The idea I endeavoured to bring out in the verses sung by me at the Congress was that this body of holy and learned Rishis, adored by gods and men, that had assembled at Mithilâ, the capital of the king of Videhas, on the occasion of the horse-sacrifice, had risen up again at Vienna, the capital of the Emperor of Austria, to dispel the darkness that had overspread the earth in this sinful age of Kali, out of pity for man. Áśvala, the priest of Janaka, had assumed the form of Bühler, Yājñavalkya appeared as Weber and Roth, and Śākala as Kielhorn. Kahoḍa manifested himself as Jolly; and the remaining Rishis as Ludwig, Rost, Jacobi, and the rest. There was a Viennese lady who attended the meetings of our section, and who takes very great interest in Indian literature and has read nearly all that has been written about it, as well as translations of Sanskrit works. She was our Gārgî Vāchaknavî.

Such a compliment, I thought, these European scholars, and especially the Germans, deserved. Ever since the discovery of Sanskrit, the Europeans have devoted themselves with their usual energy to the study of the language and its literature, and to the solution of the

various problems suggested by it. They have successfully traced the affinity of the Sanskrit with the ancient languages of Europe, classified the languages of the civilized world on a scientific principle, and the races that speak them, shown that the Âryans of India composed of the three castes, Brahman, Kshatriya and Vaiśya, belong to the same race as the ancient Greeks and Romans and the nations of modern Europe, except the Turks, the Hungarians, and the Fins, penetrated into the secret of the formation of human speech and the growth of myths, and constituted the science of language and comparative mythology. They have collected manuscripts from all parts of India, and from Nepal, Ceylon, Burma, and Siam; and the Government of India has been assisting their efforts by instituting an archæological survey and search for manuscripts. They have examined the Vedas carefully, and traced out a great many facts concerning the original history and condition of the Indian Âryas, and compiled dictionaries, concordances, and grammars. The Mahâbhârata, Râmâyana some of the Purânas, and the law books, as well as the dramatical literature, have been subjected to a similar examination. Buddhism, the memory of which has faded away in India, has again been brought to our notice; and its sacred texts, manuscripts of which are nowhere now found in India, have been rendered available to us.

In this work of study and research the Germans, of all the nations of Europe, have been the foremost. Most of the great achievements I have briefly indicated above are due to their patient industry and critical acumen. We have had one great French scholar, and there are now two or three. Englishmen first of all discovered Sanskrit, as was of course to be expected from the fact of India's having fallen into their hands, and we have had first-class English scholars, such as Colebrooke and Wilson. But somehow Sanskrit and philological studies have not found a congenial soil in the British isles. While there are at present twenty-five German scholars at least who have been working in the different branches of Sanskrit literature and have published something, we have not more than five among Englishmen. England employs Germans in connection with her philological work. The best Sanskrit scholar in the country is a German, and the Professor of Sanskrit at Edinburgh and the Librarian of the India office are Germans. There is a German in charge of manuscripts in the British Museum and the Assistant Librarian at the Bodleian is a Hungarian. The Germans are the Brahmans of Europe, the French

the Kshatriyas, and the English the Vaiśyas ; though as was the case in India, the Brahmans of Europe have now taken to a military occupation. The great excellence of German scholarship consists in the spirit of criticism and comparison that is brought to bear on the facts that come under observation, and in the endeavour made to trace the gradual development of thought and language and to determine the chronological relations of events.

So much for the bright side of the picture. But it has also a dark side, to shut our eyes to which will do no good to the cause or to anybody. The proper and fruitful exercise of the critical and comparative, or what might be called the historical spirit, depends upon innate ability and a naturally sound judgment. These are not to be found everywhere, and often we meet with instances in which very comprehensive conclusions are based upon the most slender evidence. Though it is true that a native does not easily look at the language, thought, and institutions of his country from the critical standpoint, while the first impulse of an intelligent foreigner is to do so, still there are some disadvantages under which the foreigner must labour. He has no full and familiar knowledge of what he subjects to a critical examination. In the case of European Sanskrit scholars there is besides always a very strong disinclination to admit the high antiquity of any book, thought, or institution, and a tendency to trace Greek influence everywhere in our literature ; while not seldom the major premise in the reasoning is that the Indians cannot have any good in them, since several times in the course of their history, they allowed themselves to be conquered by foreigners. Oftentimes the belief that the Brahmans are a crafty race prevents a full perception of the truth. Of course, scholars of ability and sound judgment shake off such tendencies and prejudices ; and among these I may mention, since I do not wish to make invidious comparisons between living scholars, Dr. Muir of Edinburgh and Prof. Goldstücker.

But independently of such defects in the exercise of the critical faculty, there are very important branches of Sanskrit literature which are not understood in Germany and Europe. I had a conversation with Dr. Kielhorn on this subject the day after I reached Vienna. I said it appeared to me that works in the narrative or Purāṇic style and the dramatic plays were alone properly understood in Europe, while those written in the style of discourse or works on philosophy and exegesis were not. He replied that even several of the dramatic plays

and works on Poetics were not understood. Mistakes are constantly made when a scholar endeavours to interpret and criticise a work or passages in a work belonging to any of the Śāstras, as we call them; and often the sense of passages containing idiomatic expressions in other works also is not perceived. A scholar reads such a work or interprets such expressions and passages with the aid of a grammar and a dictionary; but a clear understanding of them requires an amount of previous knowledge which cannot be derived from either. As to positive command over Sanskrit, I had an illustration in the shape of a card which was given to me by a Professor at the Congress on which two verses in the easiest of Sanskrit metres, the Anuṣṭubh, composed by him, are printed. In three of the four lines the metre is violated, and there is a bad compound in the second verse. If the study of Greek was not successfully carried on in Western Europe before the fall of Constantinople drove many learned Greeks into that part of the continent, it is of course not reasonable to expect that Sanskrit literature should be properly understood in Europe without instruction from the old Pandits of India. This defect was first of all clearly perceived by those German scholars who spent a good many years in India; and now it has been acknowledged by others also, though there are still some whose reliance on a grammar and a dictionary continues unbounded. And the Germans have already begun to remedy the defect. Dr. Garbe was sent more than a year ago to this country at the expense of the Prussian Government to study Indian philosophy. He lived at Benares for a year and read one or two works with some of the Pandits there, and has recently returned to his country. Dr. Kielhorn has undertaken to publish an edition of the Kāśikā, an old commentary on Pāṇini's Sūtras containing copious notes and explanations of a nature to enable the European scholar to understand the intricacies of the style of grammatical exegesis. And on the last day of my stay at Vienna, Dr. Bühler told me that he had on that day called on the Minister of Public Instruction to represent to him the necessity of having an Assistant Professorship of Sanskrit in connection with the University of Vienna. This he means for Dr. Hultzsch; but his ultimate idea is that large Universities such as those of Berlin and Vienna should have an Assistant Professorship to be held by a Sanskrit Master of Arts of the Bombay University, and on Dr. Hultzsch being raised to the Professorship or provided for elsewhere, he will have an Indian in his place. This I believe is a good

idea, in the interests of both European and Indian Sanskrit scholarship; but the principle involved in it, viz., a close intercourse between the scholars of the two countries, deserves to be carried out in other ways. This also has not escaped the attention of Dr. Bühler; for though he is not now in his bodily form present in India, he carries on an active correspondence with many persons here, and has recently issued a prospectus about a Vienna Oriental Journal which will contain several articles in English intended to be read by us here. I have no doubt that such a close intercourse will be productive of benefit to us here. New ideas and views about matters in Sanskrit literary history are constantly started in Germany, and these will stimulate thought and inquiry among us, and we shall be able to make use of our knowledge either to confirm or refute them, and put forth new ideas and views of our own. It is very much to be wished that more of us devoted ourselves to learning and research. Every year our University turns out a good many Sanskrit scholars, and but few have hitherto made scholarship the occupation or pleasure of their lives. But physical wants claim attention first, and unless somebody in his liberality makes provision for them, there is little hope that we shall have many scholars among us. The necessity of endowing Professorships for the advancement of learning and science among us was recently urged with characteristic ability on the attention of his audience by the Vice-Chancellor of the University and our President; and I gave expression in my humble way to the same idea in my first Wilson Lecture and in my evidence before the Education Commission; but there is no hope of Government being able to do anything in the matter in the present state of circumstances, while as regards ourselves there is little public spirit among us, and the liberality of Khojas, Parsis, and Hindus flows in other channels, and no one has the power of diverting it into this.

Another feeling which the sittings of the Congress evoked in me and to which I gave expression in my verses, was that of admiration for the respect for human nature and brotherly sympathy for mankind which, I thought, were evinced by the interest which so many people took in the condition, the thought, and languages of the people of Asia, Africa and Polynesia, so inferior to Europeans in all that constitutes civilization. I also thought that international congresses such as this were calculated to promote good feeling between the different nations of Europe, so as to render war impossible in the course of time. And from what

I saw during my hasty visit it appeared to me that Europe was approaching towards a realization of this ideal. There is hardly so much difference as regards external appearance and manners between the different nations of Europe as there is between the different races of India, though their languages are more widely different than those of Northern India. Their dress, their modes of eating, their social manners, and their institutions are a good deal more alike than ours. Any invention or discovery made in one country finds its way easily into another. The railway trains of one country run in continuation of those of another, and the postal and telegraphic arrangements are such as one might expect only in a country under one and the same Government. Travellers are always going from one country to another, and everywhere there are hotels where their comfort and convenience are carefully attended to. So that, to an external observer, Europe appears in times of peace to be one country. And I saw a pantomimic show in one of the theatres in Vienna which intensified my general impression. At first girls in European costume appeared dancing on the stage. Then was shown the digging of the Suez Canal and the plying of steam-boats in it. This was followed by a representation of the cutting of the Mount Cenis tunnel; and afterwards appeared men and women in the costumes of all countries, with some in our Indian costume, and a number of negro boys. And they all danced together in joy, the negro boys beating time. This idea of a universal brotherhood was, I thought, the most precious product of European civilization, more valuable by far than railways and electric telegraphs. And it was in such a mood of thought that I opened my versified Sanskrit address with the words, "Supreme over all is that brotherly feeling for mankind which prompts the constant endeavours of these men to study the languages, the sciences, and arts of Eastern races so utterly different from themselves;" and ended it by saying, "May Congresses such as this conduce to knit different countries together in friendship, to the cessation of war, and to the prosperity of mankind."

I was however not free from disturbing thoughts. Though all this Oriental learning had probably its origin in a respect for human nature, still a mere love of reputation and a desire to conform with the fashion of the day, are the motive causes in most individual cases. Though the whole external look of Europe makes for peace, still ever since the idea expressed in the lines

Till the war-drum throbbed no longer and the battle-flags were furled,
In the Parliament of man, the Federation of the world,

was distinctly formulated, there have been many wars in Europe, and many more times have the Europeans fought Asiatics and Africans and crushed them. And I remember that the advancement of oriental learning was looked forward to in some quarters as one of the happy results of one of these latter wars ; so that, love of oriental learning is not necessarily associated with good-will for the oriental races. A German Sanskrit Professor once said to me that he liked social equality being given to the natives of India, but not political equality, and that he considered the Ilbert Bill to be mischievous. I told him that in Ceylon and the presidency towns the native magistrates did actually exercise the power of trying European offenders. He did not know that, he said, but still proceeded to defend his position, and bringing his oriental learning to his aid, observed, " Oh, Buddhism has softened the Ceylonese, so that they might exercise that power ; but the case is different in India." I listened quietly, thanking my country's stars that she had not fallen into the hands of Germans. And two of the most civilized nations in Europe have for the last fifteen years been making preparations with their usual energy for a grand human sacrifice, in which the blood of about eight million human victims is to be poured on the altar of the goddess of nationality. Even the Oriental professors of those two nations are full of warlike sentiments ; and there is a firm determination to destroy the hated enemy or die. So that, the spirit of humanity, though evolved in the course of European history, has been entirely driven out of the field of action by the spirit of nationality. The very physical energy of the European races and the importance attached to mere material greatness, are unfavorable to the further growth of that spirit. And in this matter, at least the prophecy of the old Locksley Hall has not been fulfilled, and there is ground for the despondency expressed in the new. After the Congress was over I stayed for a week more in Vienna, and saw the museums, the picture galleries, and other sights. I left the place on Sunday, the 10th of October, for Venice, where I spent three days.

I have already taken up so much of your time, that I have little left for conveying to you some of my general impressions. I will, however, do so hastily. Everywhere the energy of the European races and the orderly shape that they give to everything made a deep impression on my mind. On my way from Brindisi to Calais, I observed

on the sides of the railway in Italy vines and trees planted in straight lines at equal distances, and in Southern France, happy looking villages with nice roads laid out, and grass so well trimmed as to give the fields and even the slopes of hills a smooth appearance. Everywhere the hand of man was to be seen. In London I was impressed with the immense wealth of the people, and their devotion to business. In private dwellings and in shops all things are nicely arranged. The shops are generally in substantial buildings, and the shopkeeper is always seen standing or sitting on a high stool, ready to attend to his customers. The affairs of every large establishment where a number of men are employed are conducted with the regularity of a machine. Wherever I went I could not avoid making comparisons between what I saw and what exists in India. I felt that with our fields neglected except for getting a harvest or two, our things lying about in a disorderly condition in our houses and our shops, and our shops constructed of wooden planks and our shopkeepers often dozing in their seats, we are considerably inferior in point of energy to the European races, and especially to the English. When I saw the exhibition at Birmingham and observed how some improvement or other is always made in machines, implements, and arts, and how new arts and industries spring up, I could not avoid remarking to my kind friend Colonel Phelps, "Your intellects are always awake, ours are dormant." Indian implements and arts are now in that condition in which they were in the time of Manu. The English people possess a vast power of organization. Those of them who hold the same view on any matter easily combine together to advance that view, and thus form clubs and associations. I was struck when I heard that the National Liberal Club in London had 5,000 members. In India hardly so many as five persons can be found to lay aside their jealousies and combine for the advancement of a cause. In every one of the towns I visited there are one or more museums, and in most of them picture galleries. Both the Government and the people take pride in them and in other institutions of the kind, and are ready with their contributions of money for their improvement. We have no museum anywhere in India worthy of the name, and picture galleries are never dreamt of. I saw a splendid free library at Birmingham maintained by the municipality, and in the Guildhall in London, and was told that all the municipalities in England had such free libraries. We never heard of anything of the kind in India. Even such a rich municipality as that of Bombay with its surplus of

five lacs does not maintain an institution of the kind, and it is a matter of no little wonder that the idea should not have been put into the heads of the members of our Corporation by any European gentlemen or a native who has been to England. The means of communication throughout Europe are, as I have already stated, perfect, though the Customs Officers on the frontiers of a country give some trouble, and there are establishments in all places for the accommodation of travellers. Travelling, therefore, is so easy, that a timid Hindu like myself, who cannot speak French or German, could go from London to Vienna, and thence to Venice, alone, without the least difficulty. All that I saw in Europe deepened the impression that, as we are, we are an inferior race in point of energy. We are far behind Europe, and especially England, in all those matters that I have just noticed, and ours is what Principal Wordsworth calls a feeble civilization; though I believe the vigorous civilization of Europe is now on its trial, and the war between the French and the Germans which must come some day, and the socialistic and nihilistic movements, if they make further progress, will determine whether it is not one-sided, and its ideals have not been chiefly, if not exclusively, material. And in this respect we should by no means be very anxious to realize it among ourselves.

One point more, and I have done. When I set my foot on the soil of Italy and saw the Italian Custom-house officers, policemen and others, exercising their authority, the thought entered my mind, "But a few years ago this country was cut up into a number of little states, most of them despotically governed, and now these people have become one nation and got representative institutions"; and I cast a wistful eye at their newly-acquired independence. While in London I once went to see the Tower with my friend Dr. Rhys Davids, and when I was shown the place where Anne Boleyn, Catherine Howard, and Lady Jane Grey were executed, and also the dungeon into which those persons who were obnoxious to the reigning prince or his courtiers were cast quietly and in a manner unknown to anybody, I observed to my friend, "You are a wonderful people; three centuries ago you were governed by monarchs nearly as absolute and despotic as any that reigned in India, and you have now gradually worked out your freedom without shedding much blood; while we have not succeeded in emancipating ourselves during the last twenty-five centuries." Notions such as these were

present in my mind during the time I was in Europe; but after a while I asked myself, what it was that I wished? Should I like that the English had never conquered the country? I at once said, "No." For, as I had already observed to my friend, we really were not free under the old native monarchs. Under them there was no possibility of our having any idea of that European civilization which I so much admire, there was hardly much security of life and property, and there was little possibility of a man travelling from one province to another without being looted. And we should in that case have had no post-office or roads or railways or electric telegraphs or printing presses; and above all, that education which has now opened our eyes to our own defects, and given birth to new aspirations. And how was it possible that they should not subjugate the country when it was in the lowest state of political degradation, with selfishness reigning supreme, rival competitors for thrones or for power intriguing against each other and asking their aid, and the people at large maintaining their traditional indifference? Would I then wish that the English voluntarily retired from the country—for driving them away was out of the question—and left us to govern ourselves? Even here I had no hesitation in saying "No." If they should retire, we should immediately return to the old state of things. For though we talk about public spirit, public duty, nationality, and things of that sort, these ideas have not deeply sunk into our nature. Self-interest is as strong a motive with us as it ever was before. There is a lamentable want of serious thought amongst us. Childishness is rampant everywhere. We are divided into castes and communities that have not yet learnt to make common cause with each other. We still want that energy and those orderly modes of action, and that power of organization, which are necessary in order that we may progress in civilization; and we shall only lose the ground which we have gained under the British, and shall be unable to form a strong Government; and all the benefits of a higher civilization that we at present enjoy will be lost to us. I believe it to be an act of Divine Providence that the English alone of all the candidates who appeared about the same time for the empire of India should have succeeded. The Marathas, the Portuguese, the Dutch, and the French were all weighed in the balance and found wanting, and the empire was given to the English. For the Marathas possessed the usual vices of Indian rulers, the Portuguese were intolerant and forced their religion on the people, the Dutch have made the natives of the

countries they conquered hewers of wood and drawers of water, and the French are volatile and have no settled principles. Of the other nations of Europe, the Germans and Austrians do not themselves enjoy that freedom that we do under the British, and Russia is the most despotic of all European states, and is perhaps as barbarous as ourselves without our mildness. But England is a nation that has worked out its freedom. She gave liberty to the Negro slaves at a vast sacrifice of money; and it is the only country in Europe where the sentiment of humanity has made progress. It is impossible that such a country should treat us as slaves; or like the Dutch reduce us to the condition of mere artisans and labourers. Reflections such as these quieted me, and I was content that the English should rule over us, notwithstanding that there are very few Sanskrit scholars among them. In this frame of mind I got on board the steamer "Siam." The next morning, a fellow-passenger of the name of Colonel Noble, Commissioner of Sahet Mahet in Oudh, came and sat near me. He asked me a variety of questions, one of which was, "How will you manage about caste after your return to your country." I said: "When I go back I shall live with my family as a Hindu that I am, as if nothing extraordinary had happened, and will not invite caste opposition. If notwithstanding, I find myself in difficulties these must be put up with; for it is of the highest importance that we should visit Europe, if we would march on, side by side with our rulers, towards a higher goal." "That word 'rulers,'" says Col. Noble, "that you have used, I do not like. For it is the feeling of a great many Englishmen that we are but your brothers to direct and guide you towards a brighter future." I was highly delighted, and thought that if all the statesmen and officers in whose hands the destinies of India were placed were actuated in all that they did by such a feeling as this, we should be the happiest people on earth; we should forget that we were governed by foreigners, and look upon the British Government as our own national government. There were a good many other passengers on board who were very courteous and kind to me, and with whom I had pleasant conversations. Among them were Mr. Sheppard, Revenue Commissioner, Northern Division, and a good many other civilians belonging to Bombay, Madras, and the North Western Provinces. The charge of *hauteur* usually brought against Anglo-Indians I found to be false on board the steamer. The Siam dragged its slow length along the Mediterranean, the Sucz Canal, the

Red Sea, and the Indian Ocean, and at last we found ourselves in the harbour of Bombay. In the bustle and commotion which followed in consequence of everybody's desire to go on shore at once, I made my way to the place where Colonel Noble was, and took his leave with the words, "Your sentiments with regard to my people are, no less than your name, NOBLE," and came away.

VERSES

DEDICATED TO

THE ARYAN SECTION

OF

*The Vienna Oriental Congress.**

By Dr. R. G. BHANDARKAR.

पौरस्त्यानां जनानां निरतिशयमपि स्वात्मतो भेदभांजां
भाषाविद्याकलानामधिगमविषये संततं सप्रयत्नाः ।
येनान्योन्यं समेताः समुचितवचनैर्बोधयन्त्येवमेते
सोऽयं सोऽर्यभावो जगति विजयते मानुषत्वानुबन्धी ॥ १ ॥
नानादिग्देशसंस्थान्प्रथितबुधजनान्संगतान्वीनिपुर्या-
मास्तेयाभूभूतोऽस्यां नृपमुकुटमणे राजधान्यां समीक्ष्य ।
वैद्विहस्याश्वमेधे पुरवरमिथिलामाश्रितं पुण्यसंघं
ब्रह्मज्ञानाश्रुषीणां सकलसुरनरैर्विन्दितानां स्मरामि ॥ २ ॥

अश्वलो भवति बूलरूपः
याज्ञवल्क्य इव वैबररोदौ ।
शाकलः किल भवेत्किलहानो
यः कहोड इति सोऽत्र च योलिः ॥ ३ ॥

गार्गी वाचक्रवीवेडा पुरंध्री प्रतिभाति मे ।
ग्रन्थावलोकनं यस्या जीवस्यालम्बनं महत् ॥ ४ ॥
अन्यान्लुद्धिगरोस्तयाकुबिमुखान्मन्येव तांस्तानृषीन्
सर्वे तत्त्वरताः श्रुतिस्मृतिपरा ज्ञानैकबद्धस्पृहाः ।
शङ्के तिष्ययुगप्रभावजनितं गाढं तमः सर्वतो
दूरीकर्तुमुपस्थितः सकरुणः सोऽयं मुनीनां गणः ॥ ५ ॥
समतीत्य वराकोहं गिरिवनवार्धान्सभाभिमां प्राप्तः ।
प्रेम्णः पाशैर्बद्धा वयं च देशाश्च नो भवेद्युरिति ॥ ६ ॥
आर्यावर्तनिवासिषु तद्विद्यादर्शिताकरान्भवतः ।
सौहार्दे याचेहं विशुद्धरूपं तथा च मयि ॥ ७ ॥
राष्ट्राणां स्नेहभावाय विप्रहस्य शमाय च ॥
कल्पतामीदृशी संसन्मनुजानां च भूतये ॥ ८ ॥

* See ante, p. 83.

ART. V.—*On the Alleged Practice of Next-of-Kin Marriages in Old Irân,** By DASTUR DÂRÂB PESHOTAN SANJANA.

In the history of primitive marriage there are few subjects which exceed in gravity and interest the much-discussed question of the existence of next-of-kin marriages in ancient Irân, of marriages between blood-relations of a near or remote degree among the early Zoroastrians. Although the attention of Parsi students of Zoroastrianism has often been drawn to this delicate question by the labours of esteemed European Oriental scholars, still it is strange to find how few of us have endeavoured to throw any light upon it, merely contenting ourselves with a bare denial of the existence of any trace of such marriage practices in our Sacred Writings. The causes of this remarkable omission may be easily discovered in the manifold difficulties attending an examination of the evidence on the subject, which is met with in Western classical history and in Irânian archives. These difficulties are attributable partly to want of acquaintance with the languages of the original works; partly to the obscurities of those Avestâ and Pahlavi passages which are supposed by foreigners to refer to marriages between nearest kinsfolk; and partly to the discouragement arising from the uniformity of judgment of some of the best European authorities confirming the accounts given by Greek historians.

In all the inquiries which have long engaged the attention of European Orientalists, their efforts have been directed almost exclusively to verifying the testimony of classical reports to the effect that marriage between the nearest blood-relations was not an uncommon practice among the old Irânians in the times of the Achæmenidæ, the Arsacidæ and the Sâsânidæ. Nay, it has even come to pass that several European *savants* have claimed to have discovered positive evidence of such marriages in the Sacred Writings and in the later Pahlavi works of the Irânians themselves. Guided solely by their opinions, the Rev. J. van den Gheyn, S.J., in his well-known French Essay on "Comparative Mythology and Philology," has been led to remark with reference to the moral tenets of the Avesta¹ :—

¹ Vide '*Essais de Mythologie et de Philologie Comparée*,' par J. van den Gheyn, S.J.; *Études Éraniennes*, II., *Les Études Avestiques* de M. Geldner, § 4—*Morale*, pp. 231-234 :—

"If the Mazdian writers delighted in psychological analysis, they were still more fond of discussions relating to morals. The Mazdian religion can boast of having the soundest, the sublimest and the most rational system of morals among all the non-Christian religions. The basis of these morals rests on the free volition of man

"But side by side with these doctrines, so perfect and so rational, one may well be astonished to see that Mazdism approved of a doctrine which strangely contrasts with our ideas of morality. We mean to refer to the well-known *Khvêstûk-das*, exalted as one of the most meritorious and sacred acts. This term, however, designates the incestuous marriage between near relations, even between father and daughter, son and mother, brother and sister. What could be more repulsive? How could a religion of so sublime a nature as Mazdism have inculcated such a practice? That is an historical question relating to the Avestâ. We ought, therefore, to put it aside.

"The modern Parsis, it is true, have not preserved such immoral customs. They even protest with energy against the accusation of having ever taught any such doctrine. Unfortunately, they cannot burn their ancient books, the unimpeachable testimony borne against them."

Such is the observation of the Rev. Mr. Gheyn. It is not, however, the outcome of personal investigations in the field of Irânian literature, but is almost exclusively founded on the latest sources of Oriental

"Si les écrivains mazdéens aimaient les distinctions psychologiques, ils étaient bien plus épris des discussions de morale. La religion mazdéenne peut se vanter d'avoir, parmi tous les cultes non chrétiens, la morale la plus saine, la plus haute et la plus raisonnable. Les bases de la morale s'appuient sur la libre volonté de l'homme.....

"Mais à côté de ces doctrines si saines et si raisonnables, on peut s'étonner de voir approuver une doctrine qui contraste étrangement avec nos idées de moralité. Nous voulons parler du fameux *Khvêstûk-das*, exalté comme une des œuvres les plus méritoires et les plus saintes. Et cependant, ce terme désigne le mariage incestueux entre proches parents, voire même entre père et fille, fils et mère, frère et sœur! Quoi de plus rebutant? Comment une religion d'une nature si élevée que le mazdéisme a-t-elle pu inculquer une telle pratique? C'est là une question historique qui se rattache à l'Avesta. Nous devons donc la laisser de côté."

"Les Parsis modernes, on le comprend, n'ont pas gardé ces habitudes immorales. Même ils protestent énergiquement contre l'accusation d'avoir jamais enseigné pareille doctrine. Malheureusement, ils ne peuvent antantir leurs anciens livres, implacables témoins qui déposent contre eux."

knowledge in the series of the "Sacred Books of the East" planned by Prof. Max Müller. But far more important observations on the subject, which claim our earnest attention, have been put forth by some of those European *literati* who have delved deep in the mines of Oriental learning, and brought to light some of the most precious gems which will ever remain as monuments marking an important epoch in the history of Oriental literature. I beg to draw attention to the opinion of Dr. F. von Spiegel, a veteran Avestâ scholar, which I have translated from the 3rd Vol. of his German work on "Irânian Antiquities." (*Erânische Alterthumskunde*, Vol. III. pp. 678-679). He says :—"Much offence has always been caused in Europe by the marriages between near relations, namely, between brothers and sisters, between fathers and daughters, between sons and mothers. They have their origin in the tribal relationship amongst the Irânians. They married in their own tribe, since no *mésalliance* could be contracted, and everybody regarded his own tribe and his own family as the most preferable one. So early as in the Avestâ the marriage of near relations is recommended (Ya. XIII. 28, Vsp. III. 8) ; and it is also to the present day a custom among the nomads, whose daughters very often decline the most favourable offers of marriage out of their family circle, because they think that such marriages might convey them into a town, and likewise into a different tribe. The extreme case of such marriages between relations is the marriage of brothers and sisters. According to Herodotus, Cambyzes first introduced the custom of marriage between brothers and sisters ; but this is probably an error. The custom certainly existed already before him. That the kings were accustomed to take in marriage only the spouses of their rank from the family of the Achæmenidæ is witnessed in two passages by Herodotus. For this reason the marriages between brothers and sisters were much in favour with the royal family. Cambyzes married his sisters (Her. III. 31) ; Artaxerxes his two daughters (Plutarch Art. C. 27) ; Terituchmes his sister Roxana (Ktes. Pers. C. 54) ; the satrap Sysimithres even his mother (Curtius 8, 2, 19) ; Kôbâd I. his daughter Sambyke. Agathias tells us that this custom also continued to later times."^a

^a Compare Dr. Geiger, *Ostirânische Kultur*, p. 246 :—"Auch den Westirâniern war die Heirat von Blutsverwandten nicht fremd. Schon die klassischen Autoren wissen davon zu berichten. Herodot ist der irrigen Ansicht, dass Kambyses sie eingeführt habe, als er seine Schwester Atossa zum Weile nahm.

Such, gentlemen, is the position of the European view fortified by fragmentary references to ancient history, and frowning against the most glorious edifice of the old Irânian ethology, universally acknowledged to be the sublimest among the oldest religions of the world. This position it is the solemn duty of every Zoroastrian student of Irânian antiquities to inspect with the light of evidence furnished abundantly by history, both Occidental as well as Oriental. It is as undesirable as it is unphilosophic to dwell with idle complacency on the high praise which European scholars have almost invariably bestowed on Zoroastrianism for its sublime ethical conceptions, and to ignore allegations as to the practices in question of the early followers of Zoroaster. One of the true criteria of the morality of a nation is its marriage institution. The moral life of society begins and is nurtured in the family. It is, therefore, scarcely possible to conceive how a nation, much less a religion, which has been generally extolled for its pure system of morals, and proverbial for its strictly moral habits, should have sanctioned or tolerated a custom which must naturally have demoralized the highly valued precept of "*pious mind, pious words, pious actions.*"^a

But, here, I may be allowed to observe that the Greeks who charged the Persians with the crime of next-of-kin marriages, and who were distinguished among the Western nations before the Christian era for the high stage of civilization they had reached, were not unfamiliar with incestuous enormities. (1) In the *Præfatio* of Cornelius Nepos, the con-

Gerade in der königlichen Familie kam sie häufig vor. Man hatte hier besonderes Interesse daran, den Stammbaum rein zu bewahren und das eigene Geschlecht möglichst von anderen Familien zu separieren. Ausser Kambyses wäre Artaxerxes anzuführen, der seine beide Töchter heiratete, sowie Terituchmes, der mit seiner Schwester Roxane, und Kôbâd I, der mit seiner Schwester Sambyko sich vermählte."—Also cf. L'Muséon (1885), *Les Noms Propres Perso-Avestiques*, par Th. Keiper, pp. 212 seq.

^a Comp. my ed. of C. E. Irânians, vol. I. pp. 162-163 ;—"It affords indeed proof of a great ethical tendency and of a very sober and profound way of thinking, that the Avestâ people, or at least the priests of their religion, arrived at the truth that sins by thought must be ranked with sins by deed, and that, therefore, the actual root and source of everything good or bad must be sought in the mind. It would not be easy to find a people that attained under equal or similar historical conditions to such a height of ethical knowledge." Also cf. "Christ and Other Masters," by the Rev. Mr. Hardwick, p. 541 :—"In the measure of her moral sensibility Persia may be fairly ranked among the brightest spots of ancient heathendom."

temporary of Cicero, it is said that "Cimon, the greatest of the Athenians, was not dishonoured for having espoused his sister on the father's side." (2) The celebrated comic poet Aristophanes, who flourished in the 5th century B. C., relates in verse 1371 of his comedy of *The Frogs*:—"He began reciting some of the verses from Euripides, where one perceives a brother miserable, having married his uterine sister." (3) Demosthenes in his Appeal against Eubulides of Miletus, asserts: "My grandfather had espoused his sister not uterine."⁴ According to the *Scholiast* the marriage with a half-sister was permitted by law among the ancient Greeks. The details which M'Lennan has gathered on this subject, go to prove that the old Spartans were also accustomed to marry even their uterine sisters. Again, Mr. Robertson Smith remarks in his "Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia" (p. 162):—"At Athens we find marriage with a half-sister not uterine occurring in late times, and side by side with this we find an ancient tradition that before Cecrops there was a general practice of polyandry, and consequently kinship only through mothers." Mr. Wm. Adam points out that Xenophon's memoirs of Socrates refer to the intercourse of parents with children among the Greeks (*vide* his dissertation on "Consanguinity in Marriage," contributed to the *Fortnightly Review*, vol. II p. 719).

These are some of the facts which plainly indicate that the custom of consanguineous marriages did actually exist in ancient Greece at a very remote period. These facts are preserved in its native archives, which it is difficult to controvert. But, hence, it is allowable to infer that the Greek historians of old Irân were not unfamiliar with next-of-kin marriages before they wrote a word upon any Oriental history or religion, and that their sweeping assertion of the incestuous practices of the civilized Arians was to a certain extent due to their knowledge of the existence of such practices amongst Semitic nations⁵ as well as amongst themselves.

In reference to the reports of Greek historians on Oriental customs,

⁴ For these references to Greek incest I am indebted to the kindness of Mr. Justice West, President of the B. B. R. A. S., and of Prof. J. Darmesteter.

⁵ In some of the sacred documents of the Jews, particularly in the books of Genesis and Exodus, it is recorded that Abraham was married to his half sister Sarai, Nahor to his niece Milcah, Amram to his aunt Jochebed, and Lot to his two daughters. Genesis XIX. 36-38 says:—"Thus were both the daughters of Lot with child by their father; and the first-born bare a son, and called his

what assertion could be more sweeping and loose than that of Ptolemy who (relying upon the authority of the *Paraphrasis* of Proclus, who flourished in the 5th century B. C.), when treating of India, Ariana, Gedrosia, Parthia, Media, Persia, Babylonia, Mesopotamia and Assyria, relates that "very many or most of the inhabitants of those countries intermarry with their own mothers" (*vide* Adam F. R. "Cons. in Mar.," p. 713). But can this vague statement support so grave a charge? In the absence of something definite to go upon, some well attested instances, must we not pause before believing that the Indo-Irânians even as individual peoples, could ever be guilty of the heinousness they are charged with?

With these preliminary remarks I address myself to my task and lay before you what I purpose to demonstrate in the following propositions:—

I. That the *slight authority of some isolated passages* gleaned from the pages of Greek and Roman literature, is wholly insufficient to support the odious charge made against the old Irânians of practising consanguineous marriages in their most objectionable forms.

II. That no trace, hint or suggestion of such a custom, can be pointed out in the Avestâ or in its Pahlavi Version.

III. That the Pahlavi passages translated by a distinguished English Pahlavi *savant*, and supposed to have references to such a custom, cannot be interpreted as upholding the view that next-of-kin marriages were expressly recommended therein. That a few of the

name Moab; . . . and the younger, she also bare a son and called his name Benammi."—At a much later period, the granddaughter of king Herod the Great is said to have married her uncle Philip. Again, the Assyrians are charged by Lucian (*Lucian de Sacrificiis*, p. 183) with the guilt of close consanguineous marriages.—Also Orosius, a Spanish Presbyter who flourished in the 5th century after Christ, relates in his *Historiarum adversus Paganos Libri VII.*, that Semiramis, the widow of Ninus, married her own son, and authorized such marriages among her people in order to wipe out the stain of her own abominable action (*cf.* Adam, *F. R.*). The old Egyptians seem to have legalized the marriage between brothers and sisters (*vide* Rawlinson's *History of Herodotus*, vol. II., p. 429, note 1); and, according to Philo the Alexandrian Jew, there was no restriction even as to marrying one's whole sister (*Philo de Specialibus Legibus*, p. 778). The recently published work of Mr. Smith illustrates the existence of the practice of marriage between nearest blood-relations among the early Arabs.—But how far all these statements as regards those Oriental nations may be reliable, I leave it to the students of their histories and religions to prove with positive evidence.

Pahlavi passages which are alleged to contain actual references to such marriages, do not allude to social realities but to supernatural conceptions relating to the creation of the first progenitors of mankind.

IV. That the words of the Prophet Zarathushtra himself, which are preserved in one of the strophes of the *Gâthâ*, Chap. LIII., express a highly moral ideal of the marriage relation.*

Without presuming to attack any particular European theory, I beg to put forward my humble impressions in confirmation of the first statement. Among the Western classical writers, who are concerned with Persian history or religion, there are about fifteen who have touched upon the subject of next-of-kin marriages in old Irân, and who belong to different periods, from the 7th century B. C. to the 6th century A. D. They are Xanthus (l. about B. C. 650); Herodotus (B. C. 480-409); Ctesias (l. about B. C. 440); Strabo (B. C. 54 to A. D. 24); Plutarch (b. A. D. 66); Curtius (b. A. D. 70); Tertullian (A. D. 160-240); Origen, Clemens Alexandrinus, Diogenes Laertius and Tatian (f. in the 2nd century A. D.); Minutius Felix and Athenæus (f. in the 3rd century A. D.); and Agathias (f. about A. D. 536-538). Of these, Tertullian, Clemens Alexandrinus, Origen, Diogenes Laertius, Athenæus, Curtius, and Minutius Felix ascribe incestuous marriages to the Persians generally, according to Mr. Adam, 'without any distinction or qualification.' The spurious works of Xanthus, as well as the genuine books of Strabo and Tatian, impute such practices to the Magians alone, without drawing any line of separation between the different Magian orders among the Chaldæans or the Persians. Herodotus, Ctesias, Plutarch and Agathias make special mention of names of persons of rank, whom they charge with the guilt of such incest. Now, if we were to inquire to what dif-

* Here let me draw attention to the opinion of Dr. L. H. Mills on the Contents of the *Gâthâs*. In S. B. E., Vol. XXXI., p. 1, the translator observes: "So far as a claim to a high position among the curiosities of ancient moral lore is concerned, the reader may trust himself freely to the impression that he has before him an anthology which was probably composed with as fervent a desire to benefit the spiritual and moral natures of those to whom it was addressed as any which the world has yet seen. Nay, he may provisionally accept the opinion that nowhere else are such traces of intelligent religious earnestness to be found as existing at the period of the *Gâthâs* or before them, save in the Semitic Scriptures." Elsewhere he also remarks: "Nowhere, at their period, had there been a human voice, so far as we have any evidence, which uttered thoughts like these. They are now, some of them, the great common-places of philosophical religion; but till then they were unheard of (*Agushidâ*)."

ferent sources these reports owe their origin, we should find that Tertullian, Clemens Alexandrinus and his pupil Origen, as well as the true Plutarch, based their statements with regard to this question on the authority of Ctesias (Adam, p. 715; Rawlinson, Herodotus Vol. I., p. 78). Diogenes Laertius, Strabo, and Curtius seem to rely upon the spurious works of Xanthus (*vide* Dr. Windischmann, *Zoroastrische Studien*, p. 268 *seq.*; Adam, p. 717). The works of Athenæus and Curtius are supposed to be collections of extracts from the writings of historians, dramatists, and philosophers, who preceded them (comp. Smith's 'Classical Dictionary', *s. v.*). In the absence of any available information it is difficult to trace the isolated reports of Tatian and Minutius Felix to either Xanthus or Ctesias or Herodotus. Consequently, the only independent sources of information, more or less authentic, seem to issue from only four of the classical writers above-named:—Xanthus, Herodotus, Ctesias, and Agathias. Their reports may be considered to have modelled the tone of classical history relating to ancient Iran.

However, in an inquiry with regard to their evidence, the questions most important and most natural are: What is their authenticity? How far may their testimony be relied upon? Are there any conflicting statements in these historians which should deter us from trusting implicitly to their guidance?

It is admitted that no two nations have ever succeeded in thoroughly understanding the manners and customs of each other. If this is so in our own day, when the means of information are numerous and ready to hand, what can we expect in those remote ages when the sources of information were very few and very uncertain. Again, it is necessary to be on our guard against putting absolute faith in any particular Greek writer.—Regarding Xanthus, Dr. Windischmann, in his German essay on classical testimony relating to Zoroaster, published in his posthumous work *Zoroastrische Studien*, states (p. 268):—"As to the authenticity of the works of Xanthus (B. C. 529), a later writer, Artemon of Cassandra, advanced some doubts, and believed that they were substituted five centuries after by one Dionysius Skytobrachion (f. about B. C. 120), a native of Alexandria." This view is strongly supported, as the writer says, by his tutor Prof. Welcker. Also it is the opinion of Dr. Smith, expressed in his 'Classical Dictionary', that "The genuineness of the Four Books of Lydian History, which the ancients

possessed under the name of Xanthus, and of which some considerable fragments have come down to us, was questioned by some of the ancient grammarians themselves. There has been considerable controversy respecting the genuineness of this work among modern scholars. It is certain that much of the matter in the extant fragments, is spurious."

"The Persian informants of Herodotus," says Mr. G. Rawlinson in his Introduction to the 'History of Herodotus' (pp. 67, 69), "seem to have consisted of *the soldiers and officials of various ranks*, with whom he necessarily came in contact at Sardis and other places, where strong bodies of the dominant people were maintained constantly. He was born and bred up a Persian subject; and though in his own city Persians might be rare visitants, everywhere beyond the limits of the Grecian states they formed the official class, and in the great towns they were even a considerable section of the population. There is no reason to believe that *Herodotus ever set foot in Persia Proper, or was in a country where the Arian element preponderated*. Hence his mistakes with regard to the Persian religion which he confounded with the Scythic worship of Susiania, Armenia and Cappadocia..... Herodotus, too, was by natural temperament inclined to look with favour on the poetical and the marvellous, and where he had to choose between a number of conflicting stories, would be disposed to reject the prosaic and commonplace for the romantic and extraordinary..... Thus his narrative, where it can be compared with the Persian monumental records, presents the curious contrast of minute and exact agreement in some parts with broad and striking diversity in others, Unfortunately, a direct comparison of this kind can but rarely be made, owing to the scantiness of the Persian records at present discovered; but we are justified in assuming from the coincidences actually observable, that at least some of his authorities drew their histories from the monuments; and it even seems as if Herodotus had himself had access to certain of the most important of those documents which were preserved in the archives of the empire."—Whatever might be the opinion of Mr. Rawlinson, one thing is clear on its face, that the truthfulness of the Persian informants upon whom Herodotus had depended was not quite beyond suspicion, *viz.*, the utter silence of Herodotus upon the founder of the Persian religion. While Xanthus is believed to have made mention of Zoroaster and his laws, while Plato who flourished 55 years after Herodotus, and must have drawn

his materials consequently from sources as old as those of the latter, freely alludes to Zoroaster, it is impossible to conceive how Herodotus who has described Persian life and Persian religion so elaborately, should have been unfamiliar with the name of the Prophet of the land and the founder of the religion. Should we not assume that Herodotus became acquainted with the Magian belief merely through oral tradition recounted by persons who were ill-disposed towards the Magi, and who, therefore, were loth to divulge the name of their renowned Prophet.

Mr. G. Rawlinson remarks further on (pp. 77 *seq.*):—"Several ancient writers, among them two of considerable repute, Ctesias, the court-physician to Artaxerxes Mnemon, and Plutarch, or rather an author who has made free with his name, have impeached the truthfulness of the historian Herodotus, and maintained that his narrative is entitled to little credit. Ctesias seems to have introduced his own work to the favourable notice of his countrymen by a formal attack on the veracity of his great predecessor, upon the ruins of whose reputation he hoped to establish his own. He designed his history to supersede that of Herodotus, and feeling it in vain to endeavour to cope with him in the charms of composition, he set himself to invalidate his authority, presuming upon his own claims to attention as a resident for seventeen years at the court of the great king. Professing to draw his relation of Oriental affairs from a laborious examination of the Persian archives, he proceeded to contradict, wherever he could do so without fear of detection, the assertions of his rival; and he thus acquired to himself a degree of fame and of consideration to which his literary merits would certainly never have entitled him, and which the course of detraction he pursued could alone have enabled him to gain. By the most unblushing effrontery he succeeded in palming off his narrative upon the ancient world as the true and genuine account of the transactions, and his authority was commonly followed in preference to that of Herodotus, at least upon all points of purely Oriental history."

Now regarding Ctesias, the same writer observes:—"There were not wanting indeed in ancient times some more critical spirits, *e.g.* Aristotle and the true Plutarch, who refused to accept as indisputable the statements of the Cnidian physician, and retorted upon him the charge of untruthfulness which he had preferred against Herodotus. It was difficult, however, to convict Ctesias of systematic falsehood,

until Oriental materials of an authentic character were obtained by which to test the conflicting accounts of the two writers. A comparison with the Jewish Scriptures, and with the native history of Berosus, first raised a general suspicion of the bad faith of Ctesias, whose credit few moderns have been bold enough to maintain against the continually increasing evidence against him. At last the *coup de grâce* has been given to his small remaining reputation by the recent Cuneiform discoveries, which convict him of having striven to rise into notice by a system of 'enormous lying' to which the history of literature scarcely presents a parallel."

Hence it will be seen that the historian Grote is justified in remarking:—"This is a proof of the prevalence of discordant, yet equally accredited, stories. So rare and late a plant is historical authenticity."

As for Agathias, the Byzantine writer who flourished in the middle of the sixth century after Christ, his works ought to be consulted with greater caution. Besides, Diogenes Laertius is very often called 'an inaccurate and unphilosophical writer.' Even the true Plutarch's testimony is frequently questioned by modern critics. The reference to consanguineous marriages amongst the Magi: *τοῦτοις δὲ καὶ μητρὰς συνερχομαι πατριὸν νομιμῶται*, in Strabo's Geography, Bk. XV., is a very short and isolated sentence, which has not the least connection with the main subject of the long passage wherein it occurs, viz., the mode of disposing of the dead among the early Persians'. It might, therefore, be justly regarded as an interpolation by some unknown reader, similar to the interpolations noticed in the work of Xenophon, Bk. VIII., Ch. v., p. 26, and condemned as such by all his critics of authority, viz., Bornemann, Schneider and Dindorf.

It must also be remembered that the works of some of those Greek philosophers, who were well-known for their somewhat authentic description of the Zoroastrian religion and customs, viz., Democritus (f. B. C. 460), Deinon the contemporary of Ctesias, Plato, Eudoxus, Hermippos, Theopompos, and Aristotle, do not contain the slightest trace or hint as to the alleged practice of next-of-kin marriages in ancient Irân.

Thus a majority of opinions may be cited to prove that the reports of classical writers on the subject of consanguineous marriages in old Irân are not at all beyond question. Moreover, I do not mean to

¹ 'Géographie de Strabon,' traduit du Grec en Français, tome cinquième, à Paris, de l'Imprimerie Royale, 1819, pp. 140-141.

deny that some of those Greek writers who have ascribed the marriage practices in question in the case of individuals to the old Irânians, may have had some grounds for their averments; but who can reconcile their conflicting evidence? Who can decide between the two inconsistent statements upon this subject by Xanthus and Agathias, where the former charges the Magi with the crime of marrying their parents, while the latter puts into the mouth of King Artaxerxes II. words which plainly denounce such practices as being inconsistent not only with the laws of the land, but with the commandments of Zoroastrianism (*vide* Agathias, Lib. II., C. 24). The Achæmenian monuments do not allude to such practices, nor have we any indigenous historical record of the Achæmenidæ or the Arsacidæ upon which we could place any reliance for comparison.—Alas! for the dispersion and destruction of our ancient literature, which, had it been preserved, would not only have assisted us to know the exact history of the old Irânian civilization, but also to controvert with ease all such discreditable allegations.

Nevertheless, the question arises: Granted that the classical statements are to some extent doubtful; still are we not justified in believing that such marriages were customary or regarded as lawful during the rule of the Achæmenian kings, since the Greek reports refer to certain Persian monarchs or men of authority who contracted marriages with their nearest blood-relations? It is true, Herodotus and Plutarch ascribe them to Cambyses III. and Artaxerxes II. Herodotus states in his accounts respecting Cambyses (*vide* Bk. III. 31 *seq.*):—

“The second (outrage which Cambyses committed) was the slaying of his sister, who had accompanied him into Egypt, and lived with him as his wife, though she was his full sister, the daughter both of his father and his mother. The way wherein he had made her his wife was the following:—It was not the custom of the Persians, before his time, to marry their sisters—but Cambyses, happening to fall in love with one of his, and wishing to take her to wife, as he knew that it was an *uncommon thing*, called together the royal judges, and put it to them, ‘whether there was any law which allowed a brother, if he wished, to marry his sister?’ Now the royal judges are certain picked men among the Persians, who hold their office for life, or until they are found guilty of some misconduct. By them justice is administered in Persia, and they are the interpreters of the old laws, all disputes

being referred to their decision. When Cambyzes, therefore, put his question to these judges, they gave him an answer which was at once true and *safe*—‘They did not find any law,’ they said, ‘allowing a brother to take his sister to wife, but they found a law, that the king of the Persians might do whatever he pleased.’ And so they neither warped the law through fear of Cambyzes, nor ruined themselves by over stiffly maintaining the law; but they brought another quite distinct law to the king’s help, which allowed him to have his wish. Cambyzes, therefore, married the object of his love, and no longer time afterwards he took to wife another sister. It was the younger of these who went with him into Egypt, and there suffered death at his hands.” “The story” concerning the manner of her death, “which the Greeks tell, is, that Cambyzes had set a young dog to fight the cub of a lioness—his wife looking on at the time. Now the dog was getting the worse, when a pup of the same litter broke his chain and came to his brother’s aid; then the two dogs together fought the lion, and conquered him. The thing greatly pleased Cambyzes, but his sister who was sitting by shed tears. When Cambyzes saw this, he asked her why she wept, whereon she told him that seeing the young dog come to his brother’s aid made her think of Smerdis (her brother), whom there was none to help. For this speech, the Greeks say, Cambyzes put her to death.”

But, from these statements of the historian of Halicarnassus, is it not plain enough that the marriage of Cambyzes with his sister—if we may rely upon the Greek evidence alone—was nothing more than the individual act of one of the wickedest tyrants that ever reigned in Persia, and that it was owing to the cruel and ferocious character of their ruler that this most irreligious marriage, from the stand-point of the Magi, was acquiesced in by the priests as well as the people? And is this action of a vicious and wicked king sufficient to justify us in affixing the stigma of such a custom to the whole Irânian nation, or in tracing it to their religious writings? Further, it should be remembered that Cambyzes utterly disregarded his priesthood, defied the old sanitary ordinances of his people, and set small store by his religion.³ He gave proof of this by attempting to encourage in his

³ Compare S. B. E., Vol. IV., ‘The Zend-Avestâ’ by Prof. Darmesteter, Part I. p. XLV. :—“If we pass now from dogma to practice, we find that the most important practice of the Avestâ law was either disregarded by the

kingdom the practice of interring the dead amongst a people by whom it was detested. It is not, therefore, unreasonable to assume that the alleged marriage of Cambyses with his sister was suggested by his familiarity with such marriages among the Egyptians and the Greeks conquered by the Persians, and that it was carried into effect by a man of such violent passions as would brook no contradiction, and would not be balked of their gratification.

Here I may be allowed to observe in passing, that it is difficult to agree with those European scholars^o who doubt the accuracy of the assertion of Herodotus, that Cambyses was the first Persian to intermarry with his sister. I believe that their hypothesis, that the institution of such marriages had existed long before Cambyses reigned, is much more open to question than the statement of the Greek historian; and this will be demonstrated further on when I come to prove my second statement.

There is another Achæmenian monarch who is alluded to by Plutarch, on the authority of Ctesias and his followers, as having married his sisters. According to Langhorne's translation of Plutarch's *Life of Artaxerxes II.*, the Greek biographer relates:—"Artaxerxes in some measure atoned for the causes of sorrow he gave the Greeks by doing one thing that afforded them great pleasure: he put Tissaphernes, their most implacable enemy, to death. This he did, partly at the instigation of Parysatis, who added other charges to those alleged against him From this time Parysatis made it a rule to please the king in all her measures, and not to oppose any of his

Achæmenian kings, or unknown to them. According to the Avestâ burying corpses in the earth is one of the most heinous sins that can be committed; we know that under the Sâsânians a prime minister, Seoses, paid with his life for an infraction of that law. Corpses were to be laid down on the summits of mountains, there to be devoured by birds and dogs; the exposure of corpses was the most striking practice of Mazdean profession, and its adoption was the sign of conversion. Now under the Achæmenian rule, not only the burial of the dead was not forbidden, but it was the general practice."

^o Cf. Koiper, *L'Musdon*, 1885, pp. 212-213:—"Hérodote tâchait d'expliquer le mieux possible cette habitude qu'il savait être de la plus haute antiquité, parce qu'elle semblait étrange aux Grecs. Il rattacha donc cette innovation prétendue au nom de Cambyse, parce qu'un fait de ce genre lui parut être conforme au caractère despotique et capricieux de ce prince. Peut-être

inclinations, by which she gained an absolute ascendant over him. She perceived that he had a strong passion for one of his own daughters named Atossa. He endeavoured, indeed, to conceal it on his mother's account, and restrained it in public. Parysatis no sooner suspected the intrigue, than she caressed her granddaughter more than ever, and was continually praising, to Artaxerxes, both her beauty and her behaviour, in which she assured him there was something great and worthy of a crown. At last she persuaded him to make her his wife without regarding the laws and opinions of the Greeks: 'God, said she, 'has made you law to the Persians, and a rule of right and wrong.' "

Now, what do we gather from this passage? Nothing more than that Artaxerxes regarded his passion for his daughter as being in every way hurtful to his reputation, in every way unacceptable to his people or unjustified by law, and, therefore, endeavoured to hide it from his mother as well as the public. Hence we may, likewise, infer that the statements of Herodotus as well as Plutarch harmonize with each other, in showing that the marriage of an absolute monarch with a sister or a daughter was an act in which neither the Persian law nor people was acquiescent. If, according to a few scholars, it was a deed not unauthorized by the Avestâ—if it was a practice quite familiar to the Persian people of by-gone ages—what earthly reasons could have persuaded Cambyzes, the most passionate of monarchs, to ask for the decision of the judges on the question, or Artaxerxes to conceal his love for his daughter from the knowledge of his people? Besides, we have the evidence of Agathias that Artaxerxes contemptuously declined every offer to contract marriage with his nearest-of-kin relation, on the ground that it was quite inconsonant with the faith of a true Irânian. If we believe this, it is impossible to conceive that such a king could ever have taken his own daughter to wife. On the basis of this very evidence from Agathias, Mr. Wm. Adam observes (p. 718): "But if this could be alleged by Artaxerxes belonging to the royal race, what

aussi a-t-il tiré cette information de ceux à qui il devait ses autres renseignements sur Cambyse. Nous reconnaissons ici un procédé pareil à celui dont Xénophon use régulièrement dans la *Cyropédie*, quand il veut expliquer l'origine d'une habitude ou d'une institution des Perses qui était réellement ancienne ou qu'il croyait ancienne."

becomes of the worst charges brought against not only the Persian people, but even against the Magians or the ruling class?"¹⁰

Although Ctesias' books were generally acknowledged by his own countrymen to be teeming with incredible and extravagant fables and fictions—according to Plutarch, with great absurdities and palpable

¹⁰ The question regarding the alleged marriage of Artaxerxes Mnemon with his daughter, reminds me of a statement of Ferdōsi, in his well-known Persian Epic, the *Shāh-nāme*, that Behman (Pahl. *Vōhuman*), son of Isfandyār (Av. *Spentō-dāta*, Pahl. *Spend-dād*), who is also called the Artakhshtar of the Kayānians—hence his identification with Artaxerxes Longimanus and his successors down to Artaxerxes Mnemon—was married to Humāi, his daughter. This is a statement which is unique in the *Shāh-nāme*, nevertheless it is based, however erroneously, on a reference contained in the *Bundehesh* Chap. XXXIV. 8, which admits of two different ideas on account of the occurrence therein of a word 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬌, which is employed in Pahlavi in two different meanings. The passage upon which Ferdōsi must have relied runs:—𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬌 𐬵𐬀𐬯𐬀𐬢𐬀 𐬵𐬀𐬯𐬀𐬢𐬀 𐬵𐬀𐬯𐬀𐬢𐬀 𐬵𐬀𐬯𐬀𐬢𐬀. Here the word 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬌 may mean (1) a daughter, (2) one who is coupled or joined in wedlock with another. Thus the passage may be rendered (1) Humāi, the daughter of Vōhuman, (reigned) thirty years; (2) Humāi, who was coupled with Vōhuman. (reigned) thirty years. The latter rendering is the more correct interpretation, and also in harmony with the elaborate biography of Behman, written in the reign of سلطان محمود غزنوی (Hijra 537-551), and known as the *Behman-nāme*, which relates that the Humāi whom Vōhuman married, was not his own daughter, but the daughter of an Egyptian king named نصرجارت Nasrjāra. Here it is, likewise, said that Behman

وزین در فراوان سخنها بواند	فرستاد برزین یل را بخواند
همی پشت من کرد خواهد تبار	که پیری بنزدیک من یافت راه
نیامد کس از گهر من پدید	چنین روزگارم بپایان رسید
که آرام گیرد جهان بر همای	دل من چنان کرد یکباره رای
جز آن کی کند کسی تو بیند سپاه	چه گوی سپارم بدو تخت گاه

.....

فراغش ممکن بند آن ره نمایی	نگهار تلج کیان بر همایی
از او شهریاری نباید برید	زمن بار دارد چو آید پدید
بهر بر زغان بر مرش تلج زر	اگر دختر آرد گر آرد پسر
بدندان آن از دهاکش بخت	زمانه سخن درد بان شگفت

falsity —still we must admit that for the Greek writers who flourished after him no other historian would have been more reliable as regards the family life of Artaxerxes Mnemon than one who lived at the Court of Persia for seventeen years in the quality of physician to that king. Hence it is that most of the Greek historians who followed him, seem to generalize the practice of consanguineous marriage in ancient Irân, probably from Ctesias' coloured narrative of the alleged marriage of Artaxerxes with his daughter. Whatever may be the degree of truthfulness and honesty so far as Ctesias is concerned, it is not impossible to argue from the character and intrigues of Parysatis, the mother of Artaxerxes, that a slanderous story of the nature described by Ctesias might have been set afloat in the king's harem to gratify the rancour and most wicked vengeance of the queen-mother against the children of Statira, the innocent victim of her revenge, for the murder of her own daughter Amistris, the wife of Terituchmes and sister of Artaxerxes. It is also not improbable that Ctesias' narrative of the marriage of Atossa with her father, owed its origin to the vindictive Parysatis alone, and was adopted by a writer who preferred to relate astounding inventions instead of sober truths. Oriental history is not unfamiliar with the malignant accusations of the crime of incest by step-mothers or even by mothers-in-law against their daughters or daughters-in-law. It might, therefore, be inferred that if the Greek writer did not invent any fiction as to the domestic life of the Persian ruler, there was another and a more powerful cause which would have given rise to such an abominable story and established it as sober truth in the mind of the original biographer of Artaxerxes.

Besides this, a few European scholars seem to point to another such instance in the history of Artaxerxes Mnemon. They discover in Ctesias, that Terituchmes, the brother-in-law of the king and husband of Amestris, was married to his sister Roxana. However, with all deference to their scholarship, I may be permitted to draw attention to the original words of the Greek writer, wherein, as far as I am able to comprehend, the notion of marriage is by no means involved. According to a passage occurring in the English translation of Plutarch's *Lives*, by Langhorne (III., p. 451), Ctesias relates:—
 "Terituchmes, the brother of Statira (the wife of king Artaxerxes II.), who had been guilty of the complicated crimes of adultery, incest, and murder,... married Hamestris, one of the daughters of Darius and sister to Arsaces; by reason of which marriage he had interest enough,

on his father's demise to get himself appointed to his Government. But in the meantime, he conceived a passion for his own sister Roxana, and resolved to despatch his wife Hamestris." It is said further on, that "Darius, being apprised of this design, engaged Udiastes, an intimate friend of Terituchmes, to kill him, and was rewarded by the king with the Government of his province." Such is the plain evidence of Ctesias; but it does not assert that Terituchmes was ever married to Roxana. Here is evidently the case of a passion conceived by a licentious brother for his sister. It must, however, be remembered, we have again to deal with a story of Ctesias, a story which may naturally be regarded as the outcome of a general hatred at court against Terituchmes, and also as the invention of a motive for his most cruel murder of his wife, the daughter of Parysatis—a queen who had contrived the most wicked means of gratifying her vengeance against her son-in-law and all other unfortunate victims who were suspected of abetting him. Whatever may be the source to which we may trace this story, it is still difficult to determine whether Terituchmes married again at all after having murdered his wife Amestris.

As regards Sysimithres, an unknown character, a single isolated reference in a writer like Curtius, is hardly sufficient to claim our attention.

Next we turn to the name that belongs to the period of the Sâsânidæ, a single positive illustration, indeed, of incestuous marriage, according to the Greeks, during the long period of more than 450 years. That name is Kôbâd I., father of the famous King Noshirwân. He is reported by Agathias to have married his daughter Sambyke. However, it is remarkable that neither Professor Rawlinson nor Ferdôsi seem to notice this occurrence. Nevertheless, trusting implicitly to the account of Agathias, a writer who was contemporaneous with Kôbâd's son, we must here consider the influences under which the king might have been persuaded to yield to such an act. Let us refer to the history of that part of his reign, which describes the imposture of Mazdak and the effect which the latter produced upon that weak-minded king by preaching his abominable creed. "All men," Mazdak said, "were by God's providence born equal—none brought into the world any property, or any natural right to possess more than another. Property and marriage were mere human inventions, contrary to

the will of God, which required an equal division of the good things of this world among all, and forbade the appropriation of particular women by individual men. In communities based upon property and marriage, men might lawfully vindicate their natural rights by taking their fair share of the good things wrongfully appropriated by their fellows. Adultery, incest, theft were not really crimes, but necessary steps towards re-establishing the laws of nature in such societies" (*vide* Rawlinson, "The Seventh Great Oriental Monarchy," pp. 342, *seq.*).

Such being the teaching of Mazdak it is easy to see what attractions it would have for a licentious prince who would willingly substitute it for the moral restraints of his purer faith. Be this as it may, Kôbâd's apostacy was followed by a civil commotion which ended in the deposition of the king, and his imprisonment in the "Castle of Oblivion." Now does not this successful popular resistance to royal incest and adultery, prove that the minds of the Irânians were averse to any violation of the moral law as to the relation between the sexes? There is one important point to be observed in the accounts of Agathias, bearing on the doctrines which the Mazdakian heretics professed, *viz.*, his assertion that consanguineous marriages were enormities recently introduced in Irân. If we accept this remark of a contemporary writer, does it not give a death-blow to all preceding authorities? Mr. Adam justly remarks (p. 716):—"But if 'those enormities were recent', this contradicts all the preceding more ancient authorities which affirm their earlier prevalence from Ctesias downwards."

Now, discarding all the fanciful hypotheses indulged in by speculative thinkers upon early human ideas and practices, I shall make a few assumptions that naturally strike me, while examining the evidences abovementioned. The first point to be remarked upon is that great care is required to avoid the confusion arising from the indiscriminate use of the words: 'sister,' 'daughter,' 'mother.' Among some Oriental peoples the designation 'sister' is not merely applied to a sister proper or daughter of one's own parents, but, as an affectionate term, also to cousins, near or distant, to sisters-in-law, to female-friends, &c. Likewise, the word for daughter is used to denote not only one's own daughter, but also the daughter of one's own brother or sister, and generally the daughter of a relative, &c. Similarly, the term 'mother' does not signify the female parent alone, but is employed as a respectful form of address to an elderly lady who enjoys the honour of being

the materfamilias of a household. It is also necessary to observe that in Old-Persian or Pahlavi there are rarely any distinct expressions to distinguish sisters from sisters-in-law or female-cousins. It is not, therefore, too strained an interpretation to believe that what Herodotus, Ctesias, and others supposed to be sisters and daughters, should have been perhaps next-cousins or relations. In the same manner, it might be surmised that a mistake would be made owing to the same name being borne by several female members of a family. Thus wife and daughter, or wife and sister, or wife and mother, having the same name, what was asserted of one might be wrongly applied to the other. Innumerable instances may be found in Parsi families where the name of the mistress of the house coincides with that of one of her daughters-in-law, nieces, &c.

But, one can scarcely infer from the particular illustrations of classical testimony on the subject, which are met with in Herodotus, Ctesias and Agathias, and are open to many objections, that incestuous marriages were common and legal among the old Irânians, as a people, and especially among the Magi. The very statement of the Greeks, that the Achæmenian monarch was supposed to be above the law of the land and of religion, indicates that his adultery or incest was not in accordance with the established institutions of his realm. Nor did the people in the time of Kôbâd I. allow such incest to pass without vehement opposition. Even if we accept the evidence of the Western historians who charge Cambyzes, Artaxerxes Mnemon, Kôbâd and Terituchmes with incest, it must be noted that these few are the only instances, they have been able to gather in the long period of upwards of a thousand years, and that they are insufficient to support so sweeping a generalization as that incestuous marriages were recognized by law, and commonly practised among the old Irânians. It is just as unreasonable as to ascribe the custom of marriage between brother and sister to the civilized Grecians, because we discover references to it in Cornelius Nepos, Demosthenes and Aristophanes. If the *Mahābhārata* tells us that the five Pandava princes who had received a strictly Brâhmanic education, were married to one wife, should we, therefore, ignore the existence of the Brâhmânic law¹¹ which

¹¹ Compare "Tagore Law Lectures," (1883), by Dr. J. Jolly, p. 155 :—"But I have been led recently to consider my views," remarks Dr. Jolly, "by the investigations of Professor Bühler, who has pointed out to me that a certain

clearly lays down (Max Müller, *History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, p. 53; M'Lennan, p. 215) "they are many wives of one man, not many husbands of one wife," and charge with the custom of polyandry all the ancient Brâhmanic Indians who constituted one of the most eminent and highly intellectual nations of the early Oriental world.

From what I have said above, it is not difficult to see that the doubtful evidences of the Greeks neutralize themselves, and that it is absurd to form, with any reliance upon them, definite opinion as regards the marriage customs of the old Irânians. I, therefore, repeat my conviction which I have set forth in my first statement—*That the slight authority of some isolated passages gleaned from the pages of Greek and Roman literature, is wholly insufficient to support the odious charge made against the old Irânians of practising consanguineous marriages in their most objectionable forms!*

II. In proof of the Second Statement—*That no trace, hint or suggestion of such a custom can be pointed out in the Avestâ or in its Pahlavi Version*—it is first of all necessary to inquire, what is the opinion of the Avestâ on the subject; whether we are able to trace to any Avestâ precept the alleged custom of next-of-kin marriage in old Irân. According to European scholars, the term that expresses such a marriage is 𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬔𐬀𐬎𐬌 *Qaétvadatha* in the Avestâ, and 𐬕𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬔𐬀𐬎𐬌

Khvétúk-dât, 𐬕𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬔𐬀𐬎𐬌 *Khvétúk-dasth* in Pahlavi. It has, therefore, been our object to examine the evidence put forward in favour of the European stand-point, of Ys. XII. 9, (Spiegel's edition, Ys. XIII. 28), which, it is assumed, contain under the word *Qaétvadatha* an allusion to next-of-kin marriages in question.

In the Avesta the term *Qaétvadatha* occurs in five passages only, each of which belongs to five different parts of the text, excepting the *Gáthás*, namely, *Yasna* XII. 9; *Vísperad* III. 3; *Vendidúd* VIII. 13; *Yasht*. XXIV. 17; and *Gáh* IV. 8 (Westergaard's edition). Of these the idea expressed in *Gáh* IV., is repeated or almost quoted in *Vísperad* III. 3, and in *Yasht* XXIV. So we have only to consider

sort of Polyandry is referred to in two different Smritis. Apastamba (II. 10, 27, 2-4) speaks of the forbidden practice of delivering a bride to a whole family (kula). Brihaspati refers to the same custom in the same terms.' Further on he says: The text of Apastamba refers to the custom as to an ancient one, which was enjoined by the early sages, but is now obsolete.

more light than can be obtained from a mere Pahlavi transliteration *Khvétúk-dát* or *Khvétúk-dasúh*, of the original Avestá expression *Qatêradatha*. The reason for this striking omission of any definite interpretation in the Pahlavi Version may, perhaps, be that the technical meaning of the word was, even centuries after the compilation of the Avestá, a thing too familiar to the native Zoroastrians to require any interpretation; or that the nature of the good work implied by *Qatêradatha* was too doubtful in the minds of the old Iránian priests to be definitely and lucidly explained.

Consequently, very little help can be obtained from the indigenous authority of the Pahlavi translation of those Avestá passages wherein the term *Qatêradatha* occurs. Fortunately, however, there is no lack of passages in the Pahlavi which, though sometimes very obscure and difficult, give us a meaning for the first member of the compound, viz., *Qatêu*, and which is *khrish* or *khrishâh* meaning "self" "himself", "one's own or allied," "relation," "individuality," &c. The Pahlavi meaning of self or relation is still preserved in the Mod. Pers. word *Khish*, and accords best with the etymology and the context. Dr. Spiegel translates *Qatêu* by '*der Verwandte*' (Ys. XXXII. 1, &c.) "the allied or relation," and remarks in note 7, page 125, of his German translation of the Avestá, that it denotes "the spiritual relation to Ahura Mazda, as though one feels himself almost in communion with Him."¹ It is characteristic that in the Gîthâs *Qatêu* very often stands in connection with the terms *Fereseyar* and *farjawan*, signifying "an active labourer" fulfilling the desires of Mazda, and "joyful devotion" towards Him (XXXII. 1: XXXIII. 3, 4: XLIX. 7: XLVI. 1: LIII. 4). The Gîthâ XXXII. 1. says:—"Unto Him may the allied² aspire, his deeds coupled with devotion." In XXXIII. 3 and 4 Zarathushtra speaks:

(3) "He is the best for the Righteous Lord, O Ahura, who, having knowledge, becomes Thy ally, active labourer and true devotee and who ardently fosters the good: it is he who thinks himself to be in the service field of *Asha* (Righteousness) and *Esha Mên* (Good Mind)."
(4) "O Mazda! I hate whosoever is disobedient and evil-minded

¹ Comp. also *Spiegel's Zendische Studien*, Leipzig, 1880, Vol. XVII. 1941. "Bemerkungen über die Wortstellung im Avestâ" by Dr. P. von Spiegel, pp. 28-9.

² A wording in Pahlavi which means a man "in active relationship" to the Almighty.

³ Rev. Mr. M. . . . 3. 2. 1887. "on the enaman."

towards Thee, disregarding of Thy *ally*, a demon in close conflict with Thy *active* labourer, and the scorner of Thy *devoted one*, the most evil-minded against the nourishment of Thy cow?"

These and several other like passages enable us to understand that *Qaētu* denotes one of the three spiritual qualifications, which are requisite for human sanctity, *viz.*, a communion with the Almighty, the practical fulfilment of His will, and the free mental devotion. Likewise, *Khishih-t-Yasdān*, 'relationship or communion with the Deity,' is the frequent desire and motive of the pious *Masdayasna* while discharging his moral or religious duties. It is a gift to which he aspires every moment.

Relying upon this meaning of *Qaētu*, it is not difficult to assign an idea to *Qaētvadatha*, which will harmonize with the context, and be reconciled with the results of comparative philology. It can only be "the gift of communion" with the Deity; also etymologically "self-association" or "self-dedication."¹⁶ In Gâh. IV. the term is used as an appellation of piety, where the passage runs:—"I commend the youth of good thoughts, of good words, of good deeds, of good faith, who is pious and a preceptor of piety; I praise the youth truth-speaking, virtuous and a preceptor of virtue; I praise the *Qaētvadatha* youth, who is righteous and a teacher of righteousness." Here *Qaētvadatha* can very appropriately bear the idea of a most desirable attribute with which a pious youth might be gifted in the moments of devotion, *viz.*, a communion with Ahura Mazda, or self-dedication.—Of the two remaining passages in the Avestâ, that in Vendidad VIII. is so difficult and obscure, that almost all the European translators have failed to discern any definite sense in it. Even the Pahlavi does not help us here, because of the mere transliteration of the Avestâ words. What is most important to be considered is Yasna XII. 9, (Sp. Ys. XIII. 28), a passage in which Dr. Spiegel and several German *savants* who follow his opinion, seem to discover traces of the precept of consanguineous marriage (*vide* Geiger, *Ostirânische Kultur*, p. 246; Justi, *Altbaktrisch*, s.v.; Noeldeke, *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Vol. XVIII. s.v. Persia; Geldner *Metrick*, s.v.). I have

¹⁶ Should we attach importance to the meaning in which the word is sometimes found employed in the later Irânian writings, still ~~Qaētu~~ could hardly denote "next-of-kin-marriage." Only marriages between relations, whether near or distant, are therein referred to.

already remarked upon this passage in the first volume of my English translation of Dr. Griger's *Ostirânische Kultur* (p. 66, note), and I beg to repeat that there is not the slightest indication that the passage in question has any reference to conjugal union of any kind; but on the contrary the term *Qaétvadatha* agreeing with the noun *Duêna* 'religion', in case, number and gender, is evidently one of the epithets applied to the *Mazdayasnân* religion, and implies the virtue of that religion to offer the sacred means of alliance with the God Ahura Mazda, or of self-devotion towards Him. The Pahlavi Commentary plainly tells us that the manifestations of this gift of communion with the Deity on earth was due to Zoroastrism, while every stanza of the Gâthas extols this highest and noblest ideal of the human spirit in the pious sentiments of Zarathushtra himself (*cf.* *Fs.* XXVIII. 3, 4, 6, 7, &c.).

I translate the passage (*Yasna* XII. 9) literally:—

"I extol the Mazda-worshipping religion, that is far from all doubt
 "ends all disputes," the sacred one, the *gift of communion* (with
 "the greatest, the best and the purest of all religions, that have
 "and will exist, which is (a manifestation) of Ahura and of
 "Mazda."

It is impossible to conceive the idea of marriage between relations in a passage which glorifies the virtues of a religion. In my own humble conviction has been supported with reference *vestâ* by Dr. E. W. West, of Munich, a scholar whose high attained attainments in Pahlavi in the European world of letters, be a matter of pride to every English Orientalist. In his the "Meaning of *Khâtûk-das*," appended to Vol. XVIII. M. Müller's "Sacred Books of the East" (pp. 389-430), the writer summarizes the result of his examination of all the referring to *Qaétvadatha* in the Avestâ, in the following (p. 427):—

the term does not occur at all in the oldest part of the Avestâ, it is mentioned in the later portion, it is noticed merely as a work which is highly meritorious, without any allusion to its only one passage (*Vend.* VIII. 13) indicating that both men and women can participate in it. So far, therefore, as can be ascertained

1. P. Vol. XXXI., Dr. Müller's translation: "the Faith which has no utterance, the Faith that wields the felling halbert" (p. 230).

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from the extant fragments of the Avestâ—the only internal authority regarding the ancient practices of Mazda-worship—the Parsis are perfectly justified in believing that their religion did not originally sanction marriages between those who are next-of-kin."

III. In reference to the Third Proposition:— *That the Pahlavi passages translated by a distinguished English Pahl. savant, and supposed to refer to such a custom, cannot be interpreted as upholding the view that next-of-kin marriages were expressly recommended therein; and that a few of the Pahlavi passages, which are alleged to contain actual references to such marriages, do not allude to social realities, but only to supernatural conceptions relating to the creation of the first progenitors of mankind*—I beg to call your attention again to the exhaustive essay on this subject by the English Irânist, Dr. West, who seems to have raked the extensive field of Pahlavi literature and collected with laborious industry all the Pahlavi passages bearing on the term *Kheétûk-das*. This learned scholar couches the result of his patient useful research in the following words:—

"Unless the Parsis determine to reject the evidence of such Pahlavi works as the *Pahlavi Yusna*, the book of *Arda-Virâf*, the *Dinkard*, and the *Dâstîrân-i-Dînûk*, or to attribute those books to heretical writers, they must admit that their priests in the later years of the Sâsânian dynasty, and for some centuries subsequently strongly advocated such next-of-kin marriages, though probably with little success." (*Vide* S. B. P., Vol. XIII., p. 428.)

Thus, while Dr. West serves us as a useful champion to guard from any adverse stigma the sublime tenets of the Avestâ regarding marriage, while he seems to doubt the authenticity of Greek historians as regards Persian matters (p. 359), we are deprived of his powerful support the moment we enter the field to defend ourselves against the obscure and detached evidences brought from Pahlavi *tomes*. Here I refer to the proofs which are put forward by the Pahlavi *savant* for his personal view that next-of-kin marriages were advocated by Persian priests in the later years of the Sâsânian monarchy.

It must be noticed here that this later opinion of Dr. West differs completely as regards the age in which the alleged custom might have prevailed, from what was previously asserted in the first part of his "Pahlavi Texts" (S. B. E., Vol. V., p. 389, note 3), where the learned author observes:—"But it is quite conceivable that the Parsi priesthood about the time of the Mahomedan conquest were anxious to prevent

marriages with strangers, in order to hinder conversions to the foreign faith, and that they may, therefore, have extended the range of marriage among near relations beyond the limits now approved by their descendants."—Again in a note to Chapter IV. of his English translation of the "Dinā-i-Mānogi-Khirād," Pahlavi Text, Parts III. (S. B. E., Vol. XXIV., p. 26), he says that some centuries before the composition of that book, *i. e.* long before the reign of Noshirwān, the term *Khvêtik-dasht* was only confined to marriages between first cousins.

But all these remarks, gentlemen, go to show that Dr. West does not agree with other scholars in tracing in the Sacred Writings of the Irāmans, the existence of such a custom in the times of the Avestâ, the Aememenidae, the Arsacidae, or the Sāsānidæ generally; but gives as his opinion, that it may perhaps have been advocated by some priests in Irân in the sixth century A.D. or later. Thus the speculation of several European *sarants* from Kleuker downwards, that the custom in question prevailed among the Avestâ people has been dissipated by the inquiry of one of their own learned body.

However, in his essay on the "Meaning of Khvêtik-das," Dr. West attempts to translate about thirty Pahlavi passages to show how far *Khvêtik-dasht* may denote next-of-kin marriage in Pahlavi. Five of these references are contained in the Pahlavi translation of the Avestâ, and two in the Pahlavi Commentary, (P. T. *Ys.* XII. 9; *Ysp.* III. 3; *Gâh* IV., *Fishtûsp* Yt. 17; *Fend.* VIII. 13; P. C. *Ys.* XLIV. 4; *Behman* Yt. Chap. II. 57, 61); eight of them belong to the *Dinkard* (*Dk.* Bk. III., Ch. 89, Ch. 193, Ch. 285; Bk. VI., Bk. VII.; *Farstmânsar Nask*, *Forgard* XVIII.; *Bagân Nask* XIV., XXI.); eight to the *Dâdistān-i-Dînk* (Ch. XXXVII. 82; LXIV. 6; LXV. 2; LXXVI. 4, 5; LXXVII. 6, 7; LXXVIII. 19); three to the *Minôkherad* (Ch. IV. 4; XXXVII. 12; XXXVI. 7); and one to the later *Pahlavi Ravâyat*.

It is needless to point out that of these thirty citations more than twenty-two may be excluded from our inquiry, since, according to the result of Dr. West's own survey of them, it is admitted that "there is nothing in those passages to indicate the nature of the good work" meant by the word *Khvêtik-dasht* (*Ys.* XII. 9; *Ysp.* III. 3; *Gâh.* IV.; *Fend.* VIII. 13; *Yasht.* Yt. 17; *Dk.* Bk. III., Ch. 193, Ch. 283; *Dk.* Bk. VI.; *Minôkherad*, Ch. IV. 4, XXXVI. 7, XXXVII. 12; *Behman Yasht.* II. 57, 61). Besides, the first five passages above-mentioned of the *Dâdistān-i-Dînk*, contain, according to him, mere "allusions to the brother and sister," who were the first

progenitors of mankind ; as for the last three he says it is not certain that "the term is applied in them to the marriages between the nearest relatives" Consequently, we have to examine a few passages only, viz., two of the *Bagán Nisk*, one from *Varštmánsar Nisk*, three of the *Dinkaril*, one of Ys. XLIV. 4, one of the book of *Ardá-Ōiráf*, and one from the later *Pahlavi Raváyat*, which, in the opinion of Dr. West, contain direct or indirect traces of the practice of marriage between the next-of-kin.

Before we set out to consider those references, it will be useful to know the extent to which the work of *Khvêlúk-dasih*—whatever may be its nature or meaning—is extolled or regarded as a righteous or meritorious action in the Pahlavi writings:—

In Chap. IV. of the Pahlavi '*Diná-i-Maínôgî-Kherad*' the reply to the query "Which particular meritorious action is great and good?" is: "The greatest meritorious action is liberality, the second is truth and *Khvêlúk-dasih*, the third is the *Gahánbár*, the fourth all the religious ritual, the fifth is the worship of the sacred beings." Here *Khvêlúk-dasih* might imply some moral habit almost equal to truth and liberality in degree of excellence.

The *Sháyast-lá-Sháyast*, Ch. VIII. 18, says: "*Khvêlúk-dád* extirpates sins which deserve capital punishments."—Also it is said by Ahura Mazda elsewhere:—"O Zaratosht! of all those thoughts, words and deeds, which I would proclaim, the practice of *Khvêlúk-dasih* is the best to be thought, to be performed, and uttered."

The *Behman Yasht*, which may be regarded as one of the oldest Pahlavi works written on the *exegesis* of the Avestá, gives us an idea of the term which best harmonizes with our notion regarding the meaning of Ys. XII. 9. It says in Chap. II. 57:—"O Creator! in that time of confusion" (i. e. after the conquest of Persia by the Arabs), "will there remain any people righteous, will there be religious persons who will preserve the *Kústí* on their waist, and who will perform the *Izashné* rites by holding the *Barsams*, and will the religion, which is *Khvêlúk-das*, continue in their family." A little further on it says: "The most perfectly righteous of the righteous will that person be who adheres or remains faithful to the good *Mazdayasnán* religion, whereby the religion which is *Khvêlúk-dasih*, will continue in his family." These two passages are supposed by Dr. West to be translations from the original Avestá Text of the *Yasht* devoted to the archangel *Vôhu-Manô* (S. B. E., Vol. V., Part I., p. 212, note).

In a passage in the *Sháyast-lá-Sháyast* (Chap. XVIII. 4), it is again declared: "Whosoever approximates four times to the practice of *Khrétúk-dād*, will never be parted from Ahura Mazda and the Ameshaspands."

I leave it to you, gentlemen, to say what signification ought to be attached to the word *Khrétúk-dasih* from its connection with the moral and spiritual conceptions mentioned in the above citations. I need only say that the moral excellence of *Khrétúk-dasih* is parallel to truth and sanctity, that its attainment, according to the *Yasna* and *Behman Yasht*, is by the intermediary of the Zoroastrian religion of Ahura Mazda, and that the approximation to the condition of *Khrétúk-dasih* is well nigh a participation in spiritual conference with the Almighty and the archangels. Consequently, it is a gift or power that must be by far higher and nobler than any abominable idea of marriage between the next-of-kin.

Referring to the eight Pahlavi passages under inquiry, it is with some hesitation that I find myself differing from the English literal translations of two of them, *viz.*, the 80th Chapter in the 3rd Book of the *Dinkard*, and the 21st *Fargard* of the *Bagán Nask*.

The difficulties of interpreting the often highly enigmatic and ambiguous Pahlavi are multifarious¹⁸; and one is often astonished at the totally

¹⁸ Comp. S. B. E. Vol. V. Introduction pp. XVI-XVII.

"The alphabet used in Pahlavi books contains only fourteen distinct letters, so that some letters represent several different sounds; and this ambiguity is increased by the letters being joined together, when a compound of two letters is sometimes exactly like some other single letter. The complication arising from these ambiguities may be understood from the following list of the sounds, simple and compound, represented by each of the fourteen letters of the Pahlavi alphabet respectively:—

⌣ a, ā, h, kh. ⌢ b. ⌣ p, f, v. ⌣ t, d. ⌣ ch, j, z, v. ⌣ r, l. ⌣ z. ⌣ s, yi, yad, yag, yaj, di, dad, dag, daj, gi, gad, gag, gaj, ji, jad, jag, jaj (17 sounds)
 ⌣ sh, ah, yā, yah, yakh, ih, ikh, dā, dah, dakh, gā, gah, gakh. jā jah jakh (16 sounds). ⌣ gh. ⌣ k, g, i. ⌣ m. ⌣ n, v, w, ū, ō, n, l, ⌣ y, i, ē, d, g, j.

... There are in fact some compounds of two letters which have from ten to fifteen sounds in common use, besides others which might possibly occur. If it be further considered that there are only three letters (which are also consonants, as in most Semitic languages) to represent five long vowels, and that there are probably five short vowels to be understood, the difficulty of reading Pahlavi correctly may be readily imagined."

different versions of one and the same obscure passage, suggested by scholars of known ability, so much so that they appear to be versions of two quite distinct passages having no connection whatever with each other. Accordingly, it is permissible to assume that the ambiguous passages adduced by Dr. West, as seeming to allude directly or indirectly to next-of-kin marriage, will bear quite another meaning from a still closer research than the first efforts of the learned translator seem to have benefited by. I think, therefore, it is as reasonable as appropriate, to defer for the present any attempt on my part to give a definite translation of any of these extensive passages which are acknowledged by Dr. West himself to be obscure and difficult (S. B. E., Vol. V., p. 389), contenting myself with giving briefly what remarks I have to make upon them.

One of these obscure passages constitutes the 80th Chapter in the 3rd Book of the *Dinkard*. It is very extensive, and contains a long controversy between a Zoroastrian and a Jew,¹⁰ concerning the propriety or impropriety of the doctrine of the Avestâ as regards the creation of mankind, the different uses of the term *Khvêrûk-dasih*, &c., in which it is difficult, owing to the confusion of different ideas as well as to the obscurity of the text, to distinguish the words of the Jew from those of the Zoroastrian. Any sentence that would seem to be a point in favour of the European view, may naturally be ascribed to the Zoroastrian as well as to the Jew. It is not, therefore, easy to determine whether it is the Zoroastrian or the Jew, who advocates or condemns a particular position or custom. However, the portions wherein both the Translators (Dastur Dr. Peshôtanji and Dr. West) agree, show that the term *Khvêrûk-dasih* is technically applied in this passage to supernatural

¹⁰ The antagonism between the religious beliefs of the early Jews and those of the Mazdayasna is well known to the *Dinkard*, the *Minôkerad*, the *Shâyast-lâ-Shâyast* and the *Shikand-Gûmânîk Vazâr*. The *Minôkerad* records the destruction of Jerusalem by Kai Lohrasp and the predominance of the Zoroastrian faith therein. The *Shikand-Gûmânîk Vazâr* points to some inconsistencies in the Jewish belief regarding the birth of Messiah. The Chapter XV. 31, says: "And there are some" (according to Dr. West's translation) "even who say that the Messiah is the sacred being himself. Now this is strange, when the mighty sacred being, the maintainer and cherisher of the two existences, became of human nature and went into the womb of a woman who was a Jew. To leave the lordly throne, the sky and earth, the celestial sphere and other similar objects of his management and protection, he fell for concealment into a polluted and straitened place."

unions, what are called the *Khrétûk-dasih* between the father and the daughter, the son and the mother, the brother and the sister.— We know that in the Avestâ, *Spentâ Ârmaiti*, Pahl. *Spendârmat*, is the female archangel, and as Ahura Mazda is called the Creator and Father of all archangels, *Spendârmat* is, therefore, called his daughter. Now, *Spendârmat* is believed to be the angel of the earth, and since from the earth God has created the first human being, *Spendârmat* in the later Pahlavi writings is alleged to have been spiritually associated with the Creator for such a mighty procreation as that of Gayômarđ, the first man according to Irânian cosmogony. Thus this supposed supernatural union passed into an ideal conception, and technically denoted what is called ‘the *Khrétûk-dasih* between the father and the daughter.’ Again, it is said that the seed of Gayômarđ fell into the mother-earth by whom he was begotten. So Mashih and Mashyânih were called the offspring of that union between Gayômarđ and *Spendârmat*, or of ‘the *Khrétûk-dasih* between the son and the mother; and since the first human pair was formed of brother and sister, viz., Mashih and Mashyânih, their union, which was an act in consonance with the Divine Will, came to denote “the *Khrétûk-dasih* between the brother and the sister.” This idea of *Khrétûk-dasih*, it must be remembered, is a later development of the abstract and religious notion of a direct spiritual alliance with the Deity or self-devotion. The term was afterwards applied to the unions of the first progenitors of mankind, which were believed to have been brought about by the operation of the Creator Himself. In creating Man endowed with the knowledge of His Will, it was the Creator’s design to raise up an opposition against the morally evil influence of Ahriman on earth. Accordingly, wherever the *Khrétûk-dasih* between the father and the daughter, the son and the mother, the brother and the sister, are referred to in the later Pahlavi writings, they do not imply any commendation of such unions among ordinary men, but only among the first human beings to whom they were naturally confined, to produce an uniform and pure race of mankind without any promiscuous blending with irrational creatures or animals. What are called the *Khrétûk-dasih* between the father and the daughter, the son and the mother, the brother and the sister, are, therefore, expressly the supernatural association between *Ahura Mazda* and *Spendârmat*, between *Gayômarđ* and *Spendârmat*, and the union between *Mashih* and *Mashyânih*.

Now, as to the signification of the word *Khvétúk-das*, the transition from meaning the gift of communion with the Almighty and with the supernatural powers, to meaning the gift of moral union between the human sexes or among mankind generally, is an easy and a natural step. Such an idea of a bond of union in a tribe, race or family, is suggested by the writer of this 80th Chapter in question. Notwithstanding, it is in the first passage and in the thirteenth, that the English translator seems to have discovered a definite reference to next-of-kin marriages. I may, therefore, be allowed to put forward in this place my own interpretation of these paras, to show that it is not next-of-kin marriages that they in any way recommend, but only moral or social union in a tribe, race, family, or near relations; and that the 13th passage explicitly condemns incestuous marriages as unlawful practices indulged in by lewd people. My version of the passages is as follows : —

“*Khvétúk-dasih* means a gift of communion. Thus honour is obtained and the union of power acquired by adherents, relatives or fellow-creatures through prayers to the Holy Self-existent One. In the treatise on human relationship it is the (moral) union between the sexes in preparation for and connection to the time of the resurrection. In order that this union might proceed more completely for ever, it should subsist between the innumerable kindred tribes, between adherents or co-religionists, between those who are nearly or closely connected.” What follows describes the application of the term to the three kinds of supernatural unions which were necessary for the procreation of a kindred human pair in this world. The passage says: “There were three kinds of *hampatvandih* “co-relation,” for example, between the father (the Deity) and the daughter (*Spendârmât*), between the son (*Gayômar*) and the mother (*Spendârmât*), between the brother (*Mashih*) and the sister (*Mashyânih*). These I regard as the most primitive on the basis of an obscure exposition by a high-priest of the good religion.” What follows is again a clear explanation regarding the propriety of such unions in the creation of mankind.

The thirteenth passage of the same Chapter says :—

“If a son be born of a son and a mother, he (the begetter) would be reckoned the brother as well as the father; that would be illegal and incestuous (𐬨𐬀 *jéh*). If so, such a person has no part in the prayers (of the Deity) and in the joys (of Paradise), he produces harm

and does thereby no benefit; he is extremely vicious and is not of a good aspect." (Cf. Dastur Peshotanji's Dinkard, vol. II., p. 97.)

It must also be observed that the allusion in this same passage to an Arumân or an inhabitant of Asia Minor somewhat strengthens the opinion of the translator of the Dinkard as to the advocacy of the Jew himself for the marriage with a daughter, sister, &c. Dr. West admits that, in the portion where anything like 'conjugal love' is meant, "marriages between first cousins appear to be referred to" (p. 410). The passage runs as follows:—"There are three kinds of affection between the offspring of brothers and sisters" (according to Dr. West, p. 404): "One is this, where it is the offspring of brother and brother; one is this, where the offspring is that of brothers and their sister; and one is this, where it is the offspring of sisters."

It is only to this passage or to the period when it may have been composed, that we can ascribe the development of the idea of marriage-relationship between cousins attached to the term *Khvêôtûk-dasih* under the erroneous interpretation of its ambiguous paraphrase *Khvêish-dêhêshnih*, which occurs in it. Here the term implies the different degrees of union,—first, between supernatural powers and the Deity, next between supernatural powers and mankind, then between the first man and woman; hence the bond of moral or social union in a tribe, race or family; but it confines, as is expressly indicated in the Persian *Ravâyats*, love or marriage union among mankind only to such of the cousins as are described in the quotation above-mentioned. The idea of *Khvêôtûk-dâd*, denoting an act of forming relationship between cousins, has rarely been expressed again in the subsequent Pahlavi writings, nevertheless it has been preserved in the later Persian *Ravâyats* by *Kâmah Behreh*, *Kâus Kâmah*, and *Narimân Hôshang*.

Now, regarding the passage in the earlier part of the 14th *Fargard* of the *Bagân Nask*, it may well be remarked that the *Khvêôtûk-dasih* of *Spendârmât* and *Ahura Mazda* here referred to, according to Dr. West's translation, is again an allusion to the communion of two spiritual powers for the creation of man, and not an indication of marriage between a father and a daughter. Dr. West, likewise, observes (p. 196):—"This quotation merely shows that *Khvêôtûk-das* referred to connection between near relations, but whether the subsequent allusions to the daughterhood of *Spendârmât* had reference to the *Khvêôtûk-das* of father and daughter is less certain than in the case of *Pahl. Yasno*."

meritorious that a whole Zoroastrian household should be given to devotion or pious resignation to the Will of the Supreme Lord of the Zoroastrian religion.

There now remain two passages which claim our particular attention. One of these belongs to the book of the *Ardâ Virâf*, another to the *Dinkard* in the Twenty-first Fargard of the *Bagân Nask*. The passage in *Virâf* in which European scholars discover the alleged practice of marriage between brothers and sisters, runs as follows:—"Virâf had seven sisters, and all these seven sisters were like a wife unto Virâf"—They spoke thus: "Do not this thing, ye *Mazdayasna*, for we are seven sisters and he is an only brother, and we are all seven sisters like a wife unto that brother." Here arises an important question, whether it is possible to conclude hence that those seven sisters were actually married to Virâf, or that they were merely dependent upon him for their sustenance, just as a wife is dependent upon her husband. It is, indeed, characteristic that the sisters do not call Virâf their husband but their brother, and they further regret that the disappearance of their brother from this life should deprive them of their only support in this world. Again, the Pahlavi word *we* *chegân* "like," implies a condition similar to that of a wife and not the actual condition of a wife. Such an expression of similarity was quite unnecessary if those sisters were actually the wives of Virâf. On the other hand, there is a difference in the words of the two oldest texts from which all subsequent copies were transcribed. A copy which is preserved in the collection of Dr. Haugs' MSS., and date *Samvat* 1466, has quite a different word *zanân*, "wives," instead of *akhtman*, "sister." If we should accept the former word, the meaning would be "Virâf had seven wives, who were all sisters." By the bye it is difficult to conceive how Virâf, one of the most pious men of his day, should have been so luxurious or licentious as to take as his wives all his seven sisters, an instance altogether unparalleled in the whole history of Ancient Persia. The passage in question, I believe, expressly points to an instance of the dependent condition of women not unknown to the Zoroastrian community, of unmarried sisters or daughters being wholly supported in life by parents, a brother or even a brother-in-law, as well as to an extreme case of rigid seclusion on the part of Virâf, and of his austere exercise of acts of piety, devotion and self-denial.

The other passage which is assumed by the English translator to be a reference to the marriage of father and daughter, and "too clear," according to him, "to admit of mistake, though the term *Khvêštúk-das* is not mentioned," is cited from the middle of the *Veheshtúk-Yasht* Fargard of the *Bagán Nask*. The contents of this Fargard are summarized in a Pahlavi version of it, and found about the end of the *Dinkard*. Regarding this ambiguous citation it may be observed that it admits of more than two significations, the choice between which is made to suit the particular construction and interpretation adopted by the translator. Generally speaking, this Twenty-first Fargard of the *Bagán Nask* seems to esteem, among other acts of religious credit, the exaltedness of a modest attitude of respect which a woman observes towards her father or husband. "*Tarskásih dyen abitar va shôê*" is an expression which denotes literally "awful respect to one's father or husband," and is a special point of female morals frequently urged in the sayings of old Irânian sages or high priests. The same idea appears to have been inculcated by this passage of the *Bagán Nask*, which, if rendered accordingly, would put forward a meaning quite different from the one expressed by Dr. West, who gives his version of the Pahlavi text as follows (p. 397):—

"And this, too, that a daughter is given in marriage to a father, even so as a woman to another man, by him who teaches the daughter and the other woman the reverence due unto father and husband."

According to my humble interpretation the passage would convey quite a different idea. I translate the passage thus:—

"*And this, likewise, (is a virtuous act), that a woman pays respect to another man (or stranger), just as it is paid by a daughter to her father, in her womanhood or married condition, through him who teaches his own daughter or any other woman respect towards one's father or husband.*"

Here we have a religious position ascribed to a person who inculcates on women a modest and respectful behaviour towards male strangers and nearest male relations. This passage does not expressly imply any notion of marriage; on the contrary it points to modest reverence which in every Oriental community is due from a woman to a male stranger, from a wife to her husband, or from a daughter to her father, &c.

Even if we should accept the interpretation of Dr. West—as one might be constrained to do by the ambiguity, obscurity, or erroneous

transcription of the original text—of all the Pahlavi passages under inquiry, still it would be difficult to prove that next-of-kin marriages were actually practised in Irân even ‘in the later years of the Sâsânian monarchy.’ His statement only indicates that incestuous marriages were merely advocated²¹ by one or more Pahlavi writers on account of their misapprehension of the Avestâ tenets, and also “with very little success.”

Finally, in support of the view that even the genuine Pahlavi writings do not proclaim as meritorious a practice which in the eye of reason and culture is highly discreditable, I may be allowed to adduce a passage from the Seventh Book of the *Dinkard*, on the supernatural manifestations of Zoroaster’s spiritual powers. This passage expressly ascribes to the Mazdakian followers the vicious practice of promiscuous intercourse between the sexes, denouncing those who indulged in it as of the nature of wolves or obnoxious creatures. Among the different divine revelations communicated to Zarathushtra by Ahura Mazda, and recorded as such in the *Dinkard*, of the changes and events which were to happen during the millenniums that followed the age of Zoroaster, there is one which predicts as a calamity to befall the religious welfare of the early Sâsânian period, the birth of Mazdak in this world, the abominable influence of his creed and the consequent beastly condition of his imbecile adherents. The passage in question may be rendered as follows:—

(“ Ahura Mazda spoke”): “ And again of the adversaries of the *Mazdayasnân* religion, and of the disturbers of piety, the *Aharmôg* (Mazdak) and they who will be called also Mazdakians, will declare one’s offspring as fit for mutual intercourse, that is, they will announce intercourse with mothers, and they will be called wolves, since they will act like wolves, they will proceed according to their lustful desire, just as one born of the wolf does with its daughter or mother, and they will also practice intercourse with their mothers, their women will live like sheep or goats.”

This revelation plainly indicates how abhorrent the practice of promiscuous intercourse between the sexes, was to the idea of the early Zoroastrians, and that it was to be expressly the teaching of a heretic who was to rise for the annihilation of the social morality of the Sâsâ-

²¹ This may well be ascribed to the ignorance or erroneous notions of the subsequent Pahlavi copyists.

root *radh* (signifying in the Zend-Avestâ "to marry"), implicitly contradicts the notion of several European scholars that the Avestâ people were fond of marrying in their own family only, and with their nearest relations. Besides, the moral position of the wife in the Irânian house was in no way inferior to that of an English *materfamilias*. Similar as she was in rank to her husband, her chastity was an ornament to the house, and her piety and participation in private and public ceremonials a blessing. Moreover, the prayer of an Irânian maiden imploring the *yazatu* Vayu for a husband, does not at all allude to any desire for marrying a next-of-kin relation, but simply an Irânian youth who may be valiant, wise and learned :—

"Grant us this grace, that we may obtain a husband, a youthful one, one of surpassing beauty, who may procure us sustenance as long as we have to live with each other; and who will beget of us offspring; a wise, learned, ready-tongued husband" (*vide* my C. E. Ir. p. 61; Yt. XV. 40)

Further, there is no trace to next-of-kinship in *Vendidad*, Chap. XIV., where one of the meritorious acts of a Zoroastrian priest or layman, is to give his daughter in marriage to any pious *Mazdayasna*. It is characteristic that wherever the subject of marriage is alluded to in the Avestâ, the word *Qaêtvadatha* is never mentioned. It is also to be remembered that Zarathushtra having six children born to him, three sons and three daughters, did not think of marrying his own son with his own daughter, nor did he ever take his own mother or one of his own daughters to wife. If it was actually the creed of the Prophet, Zoroaster ought to have realized it first of all in his own family and among his primitive supporters!

The question as regards the existence of the practice of next-of-kin marriages in old Irân, will not, I hope, create a difficulty for any longer time. Not only has the meagre testimony upon it of Greek and Roman historians shown to be unreliable and erroneous, but also the attempt to trace it to the Old Irânian Sacred Books, *viz.*, the Zend-Avestâ, has entirely failed.

So long as no cogent proofs are brought to bear on the question, sufficient to convince a student of Irânian antiquities or religion, I shall be content with the arguments or remarks I have been able to put forward on the other side, repeating at the conclusion of this paper the convictions with which I set out, *viz.*:—

I That the *slight authority of some isolated passages* gleaned from

the pages of Greek and Roman literature, is wholly insufficient to support the odious charge made against the old Irânians of practising consanguineous marriages in their most objectionable forms.

II. That no trace, hint or suggestion of a custom of next-of-kin marriage can be pointed out in the Avestâ or in its Pahlavi Version.

III. That the Pahlavi passages translated by a distinguished English Pahlavi *savant*, and supposed to refer to such a custom, cannot be interpreted as upholding the view that next-of-kin marriages were expressly recommended therein. That a few of the Pahlavi passages, which are alleged to contain actual references to such marriages, do not allude to social realities but only to supernatural conceptions relating to the creation of the first progenitors of mankind.

IV. That the words of the Prophet himself, which are preserved in one of the stanzas of the Gâthâ, Chap. LIII., express a highly moral ideal of the marriage relation.

ART. VI.—*On the Marriage of Infanta D. Catharina of Portugal with Charles II. of Great Britain, her Medals and Portraits.* BY DR. J. GERSON DA CUNHA.

Although the marriage of a Portuguese princess with a British king may not deserve to claim from an annalist or a general historian more than a passing notice, due to a domestic occurrence in a royal family, it merits, however, the special attention from, and has an abiding interest for, the citizens of Bombay, on account of this Island having formed part, as is well known, of the dowry of the Infanta.

The too circumscribed limits I have assigned to this paper prevent me from entering into details. We live in times when one has to economize time and space to the utmost. A cursory survey of the four European courts—Portugal, Spain, France, and England—whose influence was greatest in connection with this marriage, is all that is required. It would be superfluous to repeat historical events published two hundred years ago, and I shall confine myself, therefore, to less known facts, and refer to some salient points bearing on the matter in question.

D. Catharina was born at Villa Viçosa on the 25th November 1638. Her father was the Duke of Bragança, and her mother D. Luiza de Gusmão, daughter of the Duke of Medina Sidonia, a Spanish grandee. The 25th of November has long been considered an auspicious date in the annals of the Portuguese kingdom. It is St. Catharin's Day. It was on this day in 1510 that Goa was recaptured from the Sultán of Bijápur, and St. Catharine declared to be its patron saint, her heraldic wheel constituting a leading emblem in the coat-of-arms of the Senate and the Metropolitan See of Goa. It was also on the same date in 1640 that her father was offered the Crown of Portugal, of which his family had been deprived by Spain for sixty years, whereupon he headed the revolt which ended in the independence of his country.

I have alluded to this date from the circumstance of the Duke having regarded it with superstitious veneration, and named after the saint of the day, his daughter, who was henceforward considered to be a pledge of good fortune for the new dynasty.

She was tenderly beloved, and, as a token of her father's affection, a grant was executed, just before his death in 1656, in which he gave her the island of Madeira, the city of Lamego and the town of Moura,

besides some other places and sources of income, provided that on her marriage out of the kingdom, she should relinquish them, receiving instead an equivalent from the Crown.

The widow of D. João IV.—for such was his title after the assumption of royalty—became regent during the minority of her son, Affonso VI. She was a woman of great ability, and at the end of her regency she retired to a cloister, where she died in 1666.

While her father was alive, it was proposed that the Infanta should marry D. João of Austria, a bastard son of Philip IV. of Spain, both of them becoming reigning sovereigns of Portugal, and her father either King of Brazil or of Sicily. Such a project would have gained the good-will of Spain and of the Holy See ; it was, however, unpopular, and could not be realized.

The Infanta was then destined to be the royal bride of Louis XIV. of France. She was, in short, to be bestowed as a prize on the man who should best be enabled to assist her country against the Spanish aggression. Thus her marriage was to be both a matrimonial and a political alliance. The king of France being yet a minor, of the same age as the Infanta, the negotiations were carried on by a Portuguese envoy, who happened to be an Irish priest, and Cardinal Mazarin. The latter statesman, an Italian by birth, whose highest quality, according to Voltaire, who puts it in the mouth of the Spanish minister, D. Luis de Haro, was *finesse*, or, in other words, deceit, encouraged the project as long as it suited his purpose. France being then at war with Spain, Portugal was acting as a counterpoise, or operating a diversion to the advantage of France. But Mazarin, who apparently evinced at the beginning good faith in the matter, appointing the Count of Comminges French negotiator at the Court of Lisbon, suddenly put a stop to the negotiations by signing the Peace of the Pyrenees. By this treaty Louis XIV. was to marry the Spanish Infanta, Maria Thereza, daughter of Philip IV., who was to renounce her claims to the Spanish succession, if her dowry was paid, which Mazarin thought would never be done from the emptiness of the Spanish exchequer. The Portuguese negotiator, an Irish priest, as I have said before, was authorized to offer to the king of France the same dowry that was eventually accepted by Charles II. of Great Britain, with the exception of Bombay. The Irish priest, on returning to Portugal, became confessor of the Queen-Regent, and as a consolation for his disappointment at the French Court, where he had known Charles II. as an

exile, but on the point of being restored to the throne of his father, proposed a matrimonial and political alliance with Great Britain.

Now let us see who was this important personage, the Irish priest. All works relating to this period—and I believe I have read nearly all—are silent on this point, except two, one French and one Portuguese, and even these dismiss the subject of this excellent Irishman in a few lines. One is M. de la Clède, who in his *Histoire-Général de Portugal*, Paris, 1735, Vol. VIII., p. 463, refers to him as “Ce Père Dominique du Rosaire, Irlandois de nation,” and ends by saying “mais ce moine échoua dans toutes ses négociations.” The other is Pinheiro Chagas, who, in his *Historia de Portugal*, Vol. VI., p. 195, alludes to him as Fr. Domingos do Rozario, an Irishman. Very little was then known about him until lately, when the recent publication of *Notas e documentos inéditos* by Viscount of Sanches de Baena brought to light the important part this Irish priest had played in the field of Portuguese politics. His name was Daniel O’Daly, who, after profession into the Dominican Order, assumed the name under which he is known in history. There were doubtless other emissaries of D. Luiza engaged in negotiating the marriage, including a Jew who, notwithstanding the penalties attached to his proscribed faith in Portugal, was from the circumstance of his being, not unlike all men of his race, the best political agent employed in this errand. But the most conspicuous among them all was incontestably the Irish monk.

Daniel O’Daly, born in 1595, at Killtarcon, in the county of Kerry in Munster, son of Cornelius O’Daly, an officer in the regiment under the command of Earl Desmond, left Ireland with his family on account of the persecutions of the Catholics in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. After spending some time in Louvain and Madrid, where he professed into the Dominican Order, he went to Lisbon, where he acquired considerable influence. Several Bishoprics and the post of the Primate of the East were offered him, but he accepted the Bishopric of Coimbra. The queen granted him land and money for building two colleges of the Dominicans, one called *Corpo Santo* for the monks and the other *Bom Sucesso* for the Nuns. Charles II., after his marriage, asked him to go to England as Confessor of the Infanta, but he declined. He published a work in Latin of a genealogical character, and died on the 30th June 1662. The Viscount of Juromenha of Lisbon is now the representative, as a collateral descendant, of this eminent Irish priest.

But one must not forget that there was already a feeling of mutual sympathy between the two royal houses. While in England, after twenty years of civil war and the protectorate, Charles Stuart was restored to the British throne, in Portugal after sixty years of Spanish usurpation the rightful heir to the sovereignty was found in the Duke of Bragança. Thus a bond of sympathy, or a link of mutual regard, not uncommon among those who have been brought up in the same school of adversity or been victims of the same misfortune, had united the two dynasties, which was in itself a powerful incentive for the matrimonial alliance, which took place in May 1661.

Of her marriage I need not say much. When the Earl of Sandwich arrived at the Tagus with the fleet to convey the royal bride to England, the Spanish army under the celebrated leader, João of Austria, had besieged some towns and was nearly knocking at the gate of the Capital. Somehow, on the arrival of the fleet the invader decamped. The British sailors did not fire a shot nor shed a drop of blood, but the noble and generous Portuguese people, who always cherished a deep affection for their Infanta, attributed their deliverance to her good luck.

Of her married life I need say still less.

The Infanta was known from her infancy for gentleness and sanctity of life, in spite of the prodigality of the Court in which she spent the best years of her life. Besides numerous contemporary memoirs and histories which testify to this fact, there are poems and novels, where her noble character is depicted in vivid colours in contrast with her unprincipled surroundings. Thus Sir Walter Scott in his *Pereril of the Peak*, and Dryden in his *Absalom and Achitophel*, delineate, the former her virtue and constancy, and the latter her piety, under the name of Michal, while a complimentary court poet, Waller, calls her an angel.

If she had a failing, if failing can be called what is otherwise a noble trait in one's character, and the more appreciable perhaps now from its rarity in this our utilitarian and unbelieving age, it was her unswerving fidelity to the creed and the country in which she was born. It is said that the companions of "the Merry Monarch" hated her for what they called her bigotry, but to change her into something else was as impossible as to change her blood, because she did not know how to be sensible.

Now with regard to her dowry, a subject of great interest to Bombay, and suggestive of deep reflexion, the Infanta got two millions of cruzados

and the fortresses of Tangier and of Bombay. On this Pinheiro Chagas observes that the nation was adverse to the political system of territorial cessions, and although it is one's fate to lose a territory by the sort of arms, it is highly impolitic to make voluntary cessions even of a piece of land without first consulting the wish of its inhabitants. Dona Luiza knew this, and to facilitate their delivery removed the old governors of the two places and substituted them with new ones, on whose compliance she could depend.

This precaution with regard to Tangier proved successful, for although this African town was conquered by the Portuguese in the reign of Don Affonso V. and was thoroughly identified with the mother-country, its inhabitants could easily, from the proximity of the places, return to Portugal, whenever they chose to do so, as most of them did. The British held it for only twenty years and then abandoned it to the Moors, who were too glad of the opportunity of desecrating the Christian temples and graves. Both the Portuguese and the Spaniard with the aid of the Holy See strove hard to get it back on the payment of its value in money, but failed. This took place in 1684, and it was only 150 years after that the French vindicated the traditions of the Christian nations of Southern Europe thus ignominiously sullied by the Arabs.

With regard to Bombay the case was different. This chief port of Western India was coveted by the English long before the marriage treaty, in the early part of the 17th century. One or two ineffectual attempts were made in 1654, during the protectorate of Oliver Cromwell, to get possession of it. (See Oliveira Martins, *Historia de Portugal*, Lisbon, 1873, p. 12.) It is therefore strange that Lord Clarendon, who was Chancellor and in fact king's Prime Minister, but whose geographical attainments do not seem to have been of high order, should write thus:—"And for ever annex to the crown of England, the island of Bombay, with the towns and castles therein, which are within a very little distance from Brazil." (Clayton's Personal Memoirs, Lond. 1859, Vol. 11, p. 189.)

In spite of the secret article of the treaty, of which I shall speak hereafter, which promised the aid of Great Britain against the Dutch, the opposition of the inhabitants to the cession is ascribed by Teixeira Pinto, (*Memorias*, Nova-Goa, 1859, p. 113), to the difference of religion. But this was not the only reason. The Luso-Indians of those days resented as an insult the suggestion of the English help against the

Dutch, a feeling akin to that experienced by the Anglo-Indians of our days at the suggestion of a friend of mine the other day to lend Italian help against the enemies of England in India. Then Pinhero Chagas says that foreign conquests, instead of being ceded to others had better be restored to their original owners, when possible ; but that in the case of his nation, it possesses, not unlike all nations of the Latin race, the power of assimilation, which moulds, notwithstanding the cruelties of the Inquisition, the rapacity of its proconsuls and other severities of its dominion, the conquered to the ways of the conqueror, winning thereby their attachment and affection and rendering them unwilling to go back to their former rulers. As an illustration in point the author cites the case of Alsace, once a German province, which, after 180 years of the French rule, became as much attached to France as any of its old provinces. This fact is adduced in support of the statement that the Indians, or the inhabitants of Bombay at its cession, were ardently attached to the Portuguese rule. It is true that the Catholic population, composed in the main of the descendants of the former converts of the Portuguese missionaries, have, as a rule, evinced a certain amount of attachment to the Portuguese nation, as evidenced by the recent agitation throughout the Indian peninsula and the island of Ceylon in favour of the ecclesiastical patronage of His Most Faithful Majesty. But the non-Christian or Hindu population does not seem to have been the least affected by this gift of assimilation possessed by the Latin race. On the contrary, hundreds, perhaps thousands of Hindu families, now settled in Bombay, were originally natives of Goa, who emigrated long ago to other countries to save themselves the rigours of the Inquisition. The only relic of their former subjection to Portugal, now apparent among them, is the use of many Portuguese words in their speech, several of which have found their way into dictionaries of the Maráthí language. But in treating of those times one must remember that the character of the epoch, moulded in the military despotism or feudalism and clerical supremacy of the middle ages, and which had already reduced into serfdom even European nations, made the Portuguese rule odious to the mild inhabitants of the Konkan. And their policy looks still darker in contrast with modern times when the spirit of democracy pervades every political creed, and the French Revolution has taught nations their rights as well as their duties. It would be unfair, therefore, to judge by the modern code

Now a word about the so-called secret article of the Treaty. This article was indeed the corner-stone of the Treaty. It was forced on D. Luiza by the nation, who wanted an ally in the war against the Spaniards in Europe and the Dutch in India. This marriage was, in short, what I have all the while tried to prove both a matrimonial and a political alliance. Without this article, it seems, the nation would not have consented to the cession of the island of Bombay. This article was moreover, originally in Latin, as proved by its extracts in the letters from the Viceroy D. Antonio de Mello de Castro to His Majesty King Affonso VI., copies of which are preserved in the Archives of the Goa Secretariat. The whole article in Latin is not to be found anywhere, but only its translations in Portuguese and English. But while the translation in the record of the Goa Secretariat tallies with that among the papers of the Count da Ponte, the Portuguese Negotiator and Ambassador at the Court of St. James in the time of Charles II., the English version of the same in G. Chalmers' *Collection of Treaties* is a mere mutilation. All English histories, with the exception of Bruce's *Annals of the E. I. Co.*, are moreover wholly silent on the subject.

It is no wonder therefore that this article should have been a *questio vexata*, or the bone of contention between Lord Marlborough and the Viceroy. The latter at last, when advised to yield, wrote with the prophetic instinct to the king thus:—"I confess at the feet of your Majesty that only the obedience I owe, as a vassal, could have forced me to this deed, because I foresee the great troubles which from this neighbourhood will result to the Portuguese; and that India is finished the same day in which the English are seated in Bombay."

A careful study of this interesting letter cannot fail to reveal to the reader the two currents of thoughts that must have swayed the mind of the unfortunate Viceroy. There is first of all the feeling of regret on the loss of the island, and then the fear that their successors would eventually supplant them in India. That there was an element of precariousness in their rule in the East was felt from the earliest day of their navigation and discovery in India. The first Viceroy, D. Francisco d' Almeida, one of the wisest Governors of India, wrote to the king that they should content themselves with the Eastern trade without attempting any settlement or annexation. It was, however, the great and ambitious Albuquerque, the new Alexander as he is often called, who changed this policy and built an empire, the foundations of which were laid at three capital cities—

Ormuz in the Persian Gulf at one end, Goa in the middle, and Malacca in the Straits at the other. But though its days were numbered the Viceroy, D. Antonio de Mello de Castro, was by any cession during his Government unwilling to hasten its fall. The transactions of this period represent a very interesting phase in the historical evolution of Bombay. Those desirous of learning more about it will find a detailed account, based on State papers and other valuable documents, in my Memoir in the *Atti Del IV. Congresso Internazionale Degli Orientalisti*, Florence, 1881, Vol. II., pp. 205 et seq.

Passing on now to treat of the medals and portraits of the Infanta, I beg to submit to your inspection the facsimiles of four medals of the Infanta.

No. 1. *Obv.*—Catharina D. G. Mag. Bri. Fran. et Hib. Regina. Bust of the Queen.

Rev.—Pietate Insignis. A statue of St. Catharine, with the instruments of her martyrdom and the palm of her triumph.

No. 2 *Obv.*—Carolus and Catharina Rex. et Reg. Busts of the king and the queen.

Rev.—Diffusus in Orbe Britanicus, 1670. A terrestrial globe.

No. 3. *Obv.*—Carolus II., D. G. Mag. Brit. Fran. et Hib. Rex. Bust of the king.

Rev.—Cather. D. G. Mag. Brit. Fran. et Hib. Regina. Bust of the queen.

No. 4. *Obv.*—Pietate Insignis. Statue of St. Catharine with the instruments of her martyrdom and the palm of her triumph.

Rev.—Provincia Connach. Genius of the province blowing a trumpet, holding in the left hand a laurel branch.

It will be seen from the above that the obverse of the last medal was used as the reverse of the first. These two medals allusive to her religious disposition, as Samuel Pepys' remarks, must have been highly complimentary. (See *Numismatic Chronicle*, Vol. III., S. 1, p. 176.) I believe all these medals are the works of John Roetier, who was a native of Antwerp. Having been presented to the king abroad as an eminent artist, he went to England soon after the Restoration, and was by Charles II., appointed one of the gravers of the mint. (See Ruding's *Annals*, Lond. 1840, Vol. II., p. 8).

Lopes Fernandes in his *Memoria*, Lisbon, 1861, Eveling in his *Numismata*, 1697, and the *Historia Genealogica*, Vol. IV., describe these medals.

Of the portraits of the Infanta there are also four, works of distinguished painters of the XVIIth century.

Lely painted her, according to Miss Strickland, in the graceful costume which is preserved among the Hampton Court Gallery of beauties, her most becoming costume being black velvet. She also attributes to the same painter another picture in the Historical Gallery of Versailles. But this is her bridal portrait, sent to Louis XIV. when they were negotiating her marriage with "le Grand Monarche." But this picture is, according to Pinheiro Chagas, the work of a French artist, by name Noret.

There is another picture in the Strawberry Hill Collection, probably the work of a Dutch artist, Huysman, who is said to have painted her once in the character of St. Catherine, and once as a shepherdess. He also chose her for the model of his madonnas.

With regard to Sir Peter Lely's picture, the frontispiece of both Miss Strickland's "Lives of the Queens of England, Vol. VIII., and of Mr. Clayton's "Personal Memoirs of Charles II., Vol. I., greatly reduced in size, is taken from it. Then Lely's studio is described at length by Harrison Ainsworth in his novel, "Talbot Harland; a Tale of the Days of Charles II."

Returning now to the Infanta, after a life of great retirement since the death of Charles II. in 1685, during the reign of James II., and the early part of that of William, she returned to Portugal on 20th January 1693. Having twice acted in the capacity of Regent to her brother D. Pedro II., she died in the palace of Bemposta, on the 31st December 1705, aged 67, and was buried in the royal monastery of Belem. She was greatly lamented in Portugal, where her name is held to the present day in the highest veneration. She had no children. She was the means of introducing into England the two articles which are now, I believe, the commonest in use in every household—tea and fans; the former first brought into general use by the Portuguese from their commercial relations with China, and the latter of Moorish origin, and of ordinary use in the Spanish Peninsula.

Before I conclude these brief notes, for the many imperfections of which I crave your indulgence, let me consign here at the end of this unpretending sketch a sincere vote for the rise and prosperity of the greatest Empire a European nation ever acquired in the East, the foundations of which were laid by the Marriage Treaty of the Infanta D. Catharina of Bragança:

Although not a British subject, and perhaps from this circumstance the more disinterested, I avail myself of the opportunity afforded by the occasion of commemorating, at least academically for the first time in Bombay, the Marriage of the Infanta, to express my wish that the liberal principles, which guide the policy of this Empire, may grant it a long life and happier results than those achieved by the ephemeral career of the Old Portuguese Empire, which, though comparatively narrower in its sphere, was nevertheless replete with instructive teachings, and full of most stirring incidents, heroic deeds, noble actions and romantic episodes, a complete history of which remains yet to be written. I have for some time been contributing my humble share to this great work, and hope, if life and health be spared, to devote any leisure that my more urgent duties may leave to its prosecution in future.

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ART. I.—*A Sanskrit Inscription from Central Java.* By
Dr. R. G. BHANDARKAR, M.A., ETC.

Read 3rd September 1887.

TRANSCRIPT.

१. नमो भगवत्यै आर्यतारायै ॥ या तारयत्यमित्तुःखमवाच्छिममं लोकं वि-
लोक्य विधिवन्निविधेरु-
२. पायैः । सा वः सुरेन्द्रनरलोकविभूतिसत्तिरं तारा दिशम्बभिमत् जगदेकता-
रा ॥ आवश्य महाराजं - - - -
३. पणं पणंकरणं । शैलेन्द्रराजगुरुभिस्ताराभवनं हि कारितं श्रीमन् ॥ गुर्वाज्ञ-
या कृतज्ञैस्तारा देवी
४. कृतापि नञ्जवनम । दिनयमहायानविशं भवने आप्यार्यभिभूषणाम् ॥ पङ्क-
तवानतीरिष-
५. नामभिरादेशशस्तिभी राज्ञः । ताराभवनं कारितमिदमपि आप्यार्यभिभूषणं ॥
राज्ये प्रवर्द्धमा-
६. ने राज्ञः शैलेन्द्रवर्मननुजस्य । शैलेन्द्रराजगुरुभिस्ताराभवनं कृतं कृतिभिः ॥
शकनृपकालातीतै-
७. ईर्ष्यशतैः समभिर्महागज । अकरोद्रुरुपुजार्थं ताराभवनं पणंकरणः ॥ ग्रामः
कोलग(श ?)नामा

८. इत्तः संघाय साक्षिणः कृत्वा । पङ्कुरतवानतीरिषदेशाध्यक्षान्महापुरुषान् ।
भूइ-
९. क्षिपेयमनुला इत्ता संघाय राजसिंहेन । शैलेन्द्रवर्मभूपैरनुपरिपाल्यार्यस-
न्तत्वा ॥
१०. सुष्णपङ्कुरादिभिः सत्तवानकादिभिः । सुष्णतीरिषादिभिः पत्तिभिश्च साधु-
भिः ॥ अपि च ॥
११. सर्वानेवागामिनः पार्थिवेन्द्रान् भूयो भूयो याचते राजसिंहः । सामान्योय-
न्धर्मसेतुर्न-
१२. राणां काले काले पालनीयो भवद्भिः ॥ अनेन पुण्येन विहारजेन प्रतीत्य जा-
तार्यविभागकि (वि)-
१३. ज्ञाः । भवन्तु सर्वे विभवोपपन्ना जना जिनानामनुशासनस्थाः ॥ करि (लि?)
यानपणंकरणः श्री-
१४. मानभियाचतेत्र भावितृपान् । भूयो भूयो विधिवद्विहारपरिपालनार्थमिति ।

TRANSLATION.

Salutations to the blessed, the noble Târâ! May Târâ the only Saviour¹ of the Universe, who, seeing men sunk in the sea of life which is full of immeasurable misery, formally delivers them by [resorting to] the three² means, give you the desired essence of the glory of the world of the Lord of the gods, and of men. Having prevailed upon the great King Panamkaraṇa by.....the Preceptor of King Śailendra³ caused a splendid temple of Târâ to be constructed. At the command

¹ This may also be translated as "the only star of the Universe."

² The Upâyas or means are three. (See Dharmasamgraha, Max Müller's Ed. CXI.)

³ Śailendra, literally means "the lord of mountains," and the phrase Śailendrarāja may be translated as "king of the mountainous country." But it must be taken here as the name of a king. He is called Śailendravarman in the sixth line, of which name the latter part *varma* is the usual affix of the names of Kshatriyas; and his son is represented as reigning at the time when the temple was built. In the ninth line the plural of the name with the word *bhūpa* added to it is used, and the phrase literally means "the kings Śailendravarman." This could be taken as the plural honorific; but at the time when the inscription was cut, Śailendra was not on the throne, but his son; therefore the plural is to be understood in the sense of "the descendants of Śailendra." It will be seen in the remarks that I identify Śailendra with the prince Śela Prawat, whose name occurs in one of the lists given by Sir Stamford Raffles.

of the Preceptor, the grateful ones made [an image of] the goddess Tārā and constructed that temple and also a house (monastery) for the honoured mendicant priests (Bhikshus) who knew the Great Vehicle (Mahāyāna) of discipline. By the king's mandate issued in the names of Paṅkura, Tavāna, and Tirisha,¹ the temple of Tārā was caused to be constructed and also this (monastery) for the honoured mendicant priests. The meritorious Preceptor of King Śailendra constructed the temple of Tārā during the prosperous reign of the king, the son of Sailendravarma. The great King Paṇaṁkaraṇa built the temple of Tārā to do honour to the Preceptor, after seven hundred years of the era of the Saka king had elapsed. A village of the name of Kolagā has been granted to the congregation, the eminent men and leaders,² of the country, Paṅkura, Tavāna, and Tirisha being called to witness. This incomparable Dakṣhiṇā (gratuity) in the shape of land has been granted to the congregation by the lion-like king. It should be continued by the kings [of the race of] Śailendravarma to successive bodies of the honoured ones (Bhikshus), and by the wise³ Paṅkura and others, the good Tavāna and others, the wise Tirisha and others, and the virtuous foot-soldiers. Moreover, the lion-like king again and again begs of all future kings, that this bridge in the shape of charities which is common to all men should be preserved by them from time to time. By the religious merit resulting from this monastery, may all people who follow the teaching of the Jinās derive a knowledge of the divisions of things produced by the chain⁴ of causes, and attain prosperity! The prosperous Kaliyāna⁵ Paṇaṁkaraṇa begs

* These are un-Sanskrit names, and must be the titles in old Javanese of the leading men or officers of districts and villages resembling the hereditary officers of India. They are spoken of as *Deśādityakṣas* or "leaders of the country" below.

¹ See the above note.

² The word which I read *saṇṇa* must be a word expressive of praise as *śat* is, which is used in connection with Tavāna, and *śaṭha* which is applied to the Pāttis. It seems to be the Prākṛit of the Sanskrit *saṇḍa*.

³ Twelve things are mentioned in the Buddhistic treatises, each subsequent one of which is produced from each preceding, and this constitutes the chain of causes and effects upon which depends the worldly existence of man. When this chain is known and efforts are made to destroy the first link, a man is free from worldly existence and attains Nirvāṇa. The technical term by which this causation is known is *Pratityasamutpāda* (Dharmasaṅgraha, Max Müller's Ed., pp. 9 and 43, or any other Buddhistic work).

⁴ This is another name of the king. See the "Remarks."

and the inscription was discovered in the monastery in the neighbourhood.

REMARKS

I have referred to Sanskrit being a photograph of a Sanskrit inscription found in the neighbourhood of Neretajaya, a modern Nigari transcript of the Harivamśa story. The photograph was sent to me from Benares by Mr. D. C. Gupta, who takes great interest in Oriental studies. The script is in the Devanagari script, and the length is 100 lines of 40 characters each. The characters resemble those of Nāgari, but the script is different. In the eighth and eleventh centuries, the Devanagari script was used in the Rājasthān grant of G. III. (c. 1000) and in the grant of Vikramāditya of the year 1115 (c. 1035) corresponding to 177 A.D. and the inscription at Dāra, Rājasthān, dated 1115 (c. 1035) A.D. while the script used in the Harivamśa story is that of an inscription found at Gāndhār, near the city of Nāgārī in Magadha or Bihar, which I have dated by Mr. F. B. P. in 1872 and which is to be dated about the middle of the 10th century.

The inscription is in verse. The first stanza is in the Vasantatilak metre, the second stanza is a Sanskrit metre, the last or eighth stanza is in the Vasantatilak metre, the Sanskrit and Upendravajra metres, and the rest are in the Vasantatilak metre. That in the Vasantatilak metre is the same as the Sanskrit metre, the Nāgārī metre and also Sanskrit metre, the grant of G. III. the first part of the Indian Sanskrit metre, the second part is in the Vasantatilak metre instead of the Vasantatilak metre.

The inscription is a Sanskrit inscription of the Buddhist goddess Tara, and in the first stanza she is presented in her blessings invoked. The inscription is in the Sanskrit of King Śaundarya having established his influence over the great King Paramakarma, caused a special temple of Tara to be constructed in the reign of the son of King Śaundarya. Paramakarma had the temple of Tara out of respect for the Paramakarma, who was a great king of the era of the Śaundarya had elapsed. This temple and also a monastery for the mendicant monks of the Mahāyāna school referred to by the pronoun "this" were erected after a very short time had been passed in the the Paramakarma, Tara, and Tara. A village of the name or Kāśa was granted as Paramakarma to the congregation of

the priests, and the same Paikura, Tavāna, and Tīrisha who are here spoken of as Deśādhyakshas or the leading men, or rather the constituted authorities of the country, are called to witness the grant. Then follows the charge usual in Indian charters of this nature to future kings to continue the grant and preserve the monastery.

Of these two buildings, the monastery is that which is called Chandi Kali Sari by Sir Stamford Raffles and described by him in his *History of Java* (Second Ed., Vol. II., p. 25). "The external appearance of this edifice is," he says, "really very striking and beautiful. The composition and execution of its outer surface evinces infinite taste and judgment, indefatigable patience, and skill. Nothing can exceed the correctness and minute beauties of the sculpture throughout, which is not merely profuse, but laboured and worked up to a pitch of peculiar excellency scarcely suitable to the exterior of any building." Again :—"On entering the building, the mind of every one must be fully satisfied that it was never constructed for, or dedicated to, mere religious purposes. The arrangement is entirely adapted to the domestic residence of a great Hindu chieftain or rājā." But we now see from the inscription that it was not the residence of a great Hindu rājā, but the residence of the priests of the Buddhist Mahāyāna school.

The temple of Tārā is described by Sir Stamford under the name of Chandi Kali Bening (Vol. II., p. 27). "This ruin," he says, "is of the same general form and appearance as the larger temples at *Chandi Sewa* and *Zoro Jongran*, but on a closer examination is found to be superior to the whole, in the delicate and minute correctness of execution of all its decorative parts." I submit to the Society the photographs of these two buildings which Mr. Baumgarten has kindly sent to me.

It is somewhat difficult to determine the relations between the prince Śailendra whose Preceptor caused the temple to be constructed and his son during whose reign it was constructed, on the one hand, and Paṇamkarāṇa, the monarch, who constructed it and made the grant of land, on the other. Śailendra and his son are spoken of as Rājās merely, while Paṇamkarāṇa is styled Mahārāja, wherefore it is possible that he was a paramount sovereign whose feudatories were Śailendra and his son. But taking all things into consideration, I think it best to take Paṇamkarāṇa himself as the son of Śailendra, though I should have expected his name in the clause "during the

prosperous reign of the son of Śailendra," which occurs in the inscription. In one of the lists of the Hindu sovereigns of Java given by Sir Stamford Raffles (p. 86, Vol. II.), on the authority of manuscripts found in the eastern parts of Java, the name Śela Prawat occurs. *Prawat* is evidently the Sanskrit *parvata* or "mountain," which means the same thing as *Śaila*. This *Śaila* appears to be the same monarch as the Śailendra of our inscription. The date of his accession given in the MSS. is 756 of the Javan or Śaka era, while, according to our inscription, he must have ceased to reign before 700 Śaka in which year his son was on the throne. But this small discrepancy must be regarded as confirming the identification rather than militating against it; for a mere tradition such as that recorded in the manuscripts cannot be expected to be perfectly accurate. Or, it is possible that the inscription gives only the hundreds of the number representing the date, omitting the tens and units. The name of the next king given in the list is Kandiawan or Jaya Langkara. Kandiawan appears to be the same as Kaliyāṇa, which, in the last stanza of the inscription, is prefixed to the name Paṇamkarāṇa. Of the second name the first part is a mere honorific prefix, and *Langkara* is not unlikely a corruption of *ṇamkara* which occurs in the name Paṇamkarāṇa the first syllable *Pa* being dropped, and *ṇam* changed to *laṅ* as it does even in our Indian languages. As in the charters issued by Indian princes the royal mandate is addressed to the *Rāshṭrapatis*, *Grāmapatis*, *Āyuktuka*, *Niyuktuka*, &c., that is, to persons invested with authority over villages and districts like the hereditary officers of modern times, so is it in the charter before us. But these district and village authorities are here called Paṅkura, Tavāna, and Tīrishat. These are not Sanskrit words, and must be old Javanese. The first of these seems to have been preserved in the modern Pangoran, a title applied to the sons and daughters of sovereigns, according to Raffles (Vol. I., p. 298). This similarity in the form of the charters points to a similarity of polity in the two countries.

According to the united testimony of all who have written about the island, Central Java is full of statues, inscriptions, and ruins of buildings, all of them vestiges of the flourishing Hindu civilization of the island. The sculptures and detailed ornamentation of the finest building, the Boro Buddor, present such close resemblance to those in the Nasik, Ajanta, and Kenari Caves, that in the opinion of the late Dr. Fergusson it points to an identity of workmanship and

workmen. Most of the inscriptions are in the Kawi or old Javanese dialect, while there are a few which are in Sanskrit like the one before us. It is very much to be regretted that many of these have not yet been published, as they are sure to throw considerable light on the obscure history of the island as our inscriptions have done on the early history of India. In the fourth volume of the *Indian Antiquary*, (p. 356), two small Sanskrit inscriptions from East Java are published, the characters in which are unmistakably South-Indian; while our inscription is, as we have seen, in the Nāgarī characters of the North, especially of Magadha or Bihar, thus showing that Hindus both from Northern and Southern India went and settled in the island. The inscriptions from Cambodia recently published by M. Barth are all of them in the South Indian characters, and in all one or other of the Brahmanic gods Śiva, Vishnu, &c., is invoked. Cambodia was thus colonized by Hindus from Southern India, and does not seem to have had any considerable Buddhistic population. The Hindu settlements of Java were not made once for all; but there must have been a constant communication between the island and India; and Indians went to Java and settled there from time to time. The earliest notice of the Hindu civilization of the island which is unquestionably historical is that by the Chinese Buddhist pilgrim Fa-Hian, who in 413 A.D. returned to China from Ceylon by sea, and on the way passed five months in a country which he reached at the end of more than ninety days after leaving Ceylon and which he calls *Yepoti*. *Yepoti* is the Chinese equivalent of *Yavadvīpa*, the Sanskrit name of Java. As the island of Sumatra also was by the Mahomedans called "lesser Java," Dr. Fergusson thinks that that was the island visited by Fa-Hian. But I agree with Mr. Beal in thinking that in all likelihood it was Java itself. In the *Yavadvīpa*, Fa-Hian tells us "heretics and Brahmans flourished, but the law of Buddha is not much known." If these Brahmans and heretics established a colony in the island before the beginning of the fifth century and carried with them the Sanskrit alphabet of the time, they could not, if they were cut off from the parent country, develop out of it the fine Nāgarī letters of the inscription before us, so alike in every respect to those in use in Northern India four centuries later. And our inscription, as well as the remains of Buddhistic temples and monasteries, show that in the eighth century and even before there was a large population of the followers of Śākyamuni: but since Fa-Hian

says that the law of Buddha was not much known when he visited the island, the Buddhists must have emigrated in large numbers later on. In an article by the late Dr. Burnell published in the *Academy* in 1876, that scholar states his view that there was "a large emigration of Buddhists from North India to Java about the eleventh century A.D., and these took with them a Nāgarī alphabet, which is a great contrast to the old Javanese character." We now see the existence of this Nāgarī alphabet in the island in the latter part of the eighth century of the Christian era, and also of a large Buddhistic population.

In the Sanskrit literature of India, however, so far as it has hitherto been examined, Java is very rarely noticed. The "Yavadvīpa adorned with the seven kingdoms," and Suvarṇadvīpa which has been identified with Sumatra have been mentioned in the *Kishkindhākāṇḍa* of the *Rāmāyaṇa*; and in the *Kathāsaritsāgara* Indian merchants are represented as trading with Suvarṇadvīpa and other islands of the name of Nārikela or the cocoanut island, Karpūra or the camphor island, and Kaṭāha. The *Kathāsaritsāgara* is professedly a translation of or a compilation based on Guṇāḍhya's *Bṛhatkathā*, a work which must have been composed in the first or second century of the Christian era. If, therefore, this work which has not yet been recovered contained a mention of Suvarṇadvīpa and some of the other islands of the eastern Archipelago, the connection of India with those islands must have begun very early. And this is confirmed by Fa-Hien's statement in the beginning of the fifth century that Brahmans and heretics flourished in the island. The traditional accounts of the Javanese refer the foundation of the first Indian colony to a person whom they call Ādi Śaka or the original Śaka, the founder of the Śaka era, which is used in Java. Higher antiquity is not claimed for it. It is, of course, difficult to say what the precise meaning of the tradition is; but what appears to me to be in all likelihood the true sense is that some princes or chiefs of the Śaka or Scythian race which, we know, had established itself in India about the beginning of the Śaka era, and had adopted Indian civilization, as is evident from the coins and inscriptions of the Satrap dynasty of Ujjayinī and Kattiawar, established the first Indian Colony in Java a short time after the foundation of the era in India. The same enterprising spirit which brought the Śakas into India and led to the establishment of a Śaka monarchy in Sind, Rajputana, and other provinces, must have carried them further to the east.

Hinduism did not possess that tenacity in Java which it has shown in India. From about the first century before the Christian era to about the beginning of the fourth many of the Indian provinces were held by foreigners of the Yavana (Bactrian Greek), Śaka, and Palhava races who had settled in the country. They, however, did not communicate any new religion to the Hindus, but, on the other hand, adopted either Buddhism or Brahmanism from the Hindus themselves. After the restoration of the native dynasties in the fourth century, Brahmanism became more powerful than Buddhism, and flourished till the beginning of the 12th century, by which time the latter had died a natural death. But now a new and serious danger threatened the existence of Hinduism. The Mahomedans, who show no toleration for other religions, established an empire in India. But though they held the country for five centuries and forcibly converted Hindus to Mahomedanism and pulled down their temples, from time to time, when the religious zeal of their princes and chiefs was excited, the only tangible effect of their domination was to add a Mahomedan fraction to the population of India. Mahomedanism did exert an indirect influence over some of the Hindu religious sects, especially by communicating to them a strictly monotheistic tendency ; but it was slight. In Java, on the other hand, Mahomedans did not appear as conquerors but as missionaries ; but in a short course of time they succeeded in converting the whole island to their faith, and Hinduism was compelled to take refuge in the small island of Bali, where it flourishes at the present day. But with the destruction of Hinduism, the blood of the foreign colonists, who "had persevered for nearly nine centuries in adorning the island with edifices almost unrivalled elsewhere of their class, had become," according to Dr. Fergusson, "diluted, their race impure, and their energy effete."

And, gentlemen, you will, I hope, allow me, in conclusion, to make a reflection or two which it is almost impossible for an English-knowing Hindu in the present condition of his country to avoid, when engaged on such a subject as this. If, from the first century of the Śaka era to about the twelfth, Brahmans and other Hindu castes set at naught the prohibition of the Śāstras against crossing the sea, and went on voyages lasting for ninety days and more, there is no reason why they should not do so in this nineteenth century of that era and go to Europe and America. The amount of energy and enterprise that the Hindus of those days displayed in thus keeping a constant intercourse

with Cambodia and the islands of the Archipelago, establishing colonies there and imparting to the native Polynesians their own civilization, ought, in the midst of a great deal in our present condition that is very discouraging, to fill us with hope as to the innate capacities of our race. If, according to the interpretation I have ventured to put on the Javanese tradition, it was in consequence of their contact with the Śakas that the Indian Āryas first showed those qualities, we have by our side at the present day the sturdy Anglo-Saxon to spur us on. Let us accept his guidance and leadership with a willing heart, and move on in all the fields of human activity, not excepting the one the achievements of our ancestors in which we have been considering.

ART. II.—*A New Edict of Aśoka.* By M. EMILE SENART.

Read 15th March 1888.

You recollect that the principal set of the edicts of Aśoka, those which can be embraced under the name of the Fourteen Edicts, were known until recently in five versions, more or less complete and in better or worse preservation. It is about three years, I suppose, since we learned from General Cunningham of the existence of another series, written like this last, in the Indo-Aryan character, at Mansera, on the road leading to Cashmere by Abbottabad. You can easily imagine that Mansera was among the intended stages of my journey when I started for India. I was on the way there when I heard at Mathura from Dr. J. Burgess, that at Shahbaz Garhi, quite close to the inscriptions previously known, a new one had just been discovered by Captain Deane, Assistant Commissioner at Hoti Murdan, and from the rubbing which he showed me I saw that we had here the twelfth edict, the only one of the fourteen which had been missing at Shahbaz Garhi. Among the versions written in Indo-Pali characters, that of Girnar, being so carefully executed and so remarkably preserved, undoubtedly holds the first rank. Mansera, Shahbaz Garhi, Girnar then, these were my three stages. When you leave the dāk bungalow at Mansera, a lane which goes round the village to the north crosses the river, and following among fallen rocks, the deep bed which the torrent has cut, for itself leads you into a kind of vast circle, the floor of which forms a stately plain, and which is surrounded on all sides by hills of various sizes, are overlooked towards the north by the snowy mountains of Khagan and Cashmere. To the left, some hundred yards from the stream, is a low hill, completely covered with a confused mass of boulders, large and small. It is on two of these boulders that the inscriptions are written. The first is engraved on one face only, which is turned to the east, and contains the first eight edicts. It would seem to have come out from its original position; the lines are inclined, and the lowest of them come so near the ground, and on the right side are so encumbered with fragments of rock, as not to be easily read, and to render it difficult to obtain satisfactory rubbings. The second

block, which is perhaps thirty yards distant, is engraved on two faces to the north-east and to the south-east. The first contains edicts nine to eleven, and the other the twelfth. To sum up, Mansehra gives us a new version, more or less complete, of the first twelve edicts. I have little doubt that the two last had also been engraved here, but they do not seem now to be known of as in existence by the inhabitants; and the hurried search I was able to undertake on the spot led to no result. It may be that the inscription has fallen down with the face against the ground, or that it is more or less entirely buried. It is precisely such a circumstance which has delayed so long the discovery of the twelfth edict at Shahbaz Garhi. Only some weeks ago did Captain Deane, while stepping once more through that celebrated place which had been before searched over by experienced and devoted archæologists, notice a few characters on a stone just emerging from the soil. In clearing away the surrounding ground, he brought to light an entire and well preserved inscription, which is nothing else, as I told you before, than the previously missing version of the twelfth edict. This boulder lies just at the foot of the hill, on the steep slope of which, about forty yards higher up, the other boulder stands in marvellous equilibrium, which contains on its two faces, on one side the first seven edicts, on the other the thirteenth and the fourteenth, both faces, especially the second, much corroded by time, but still capable of yielding to a patient study, conducted with perseverance and sufficient leisure, many corrections to the current version. I do not need to insist upon the interest of those good tidings. Of course, these are texts which are known to us in other versions, and the general sense of which is sufficiently established. But it is precisely the version the least well preserved and the least settled, which is in this way controlled and completed by a parallel version which will enable us to fill up more than one gap, and clear up more than one doubt. I will add, that these inscriptions of the North-West, if some conjectures, which I have elsewhere expressed prove true, as I hope they may, would be precious and unique relics of that conquest of North India by the Persians, of which we know so little. It is, perhaps, through the influence of the Persian chancellery that the alphabet in which they are written has found its way to India; while, on the other hand, it may be from some tradition of the Persian kings that an Emperor of India borrowed the idea of engraving long memorials on the rock. Be that as it may, the scarcity of inscriptions written in these Aramean

characters insure some importance even to palæographic niceties. The two versions of Mansera and Shahbaz Garhi are geographically so near each other and on the whole so exactly alike, that there can be no question here of looking for different dialects. The few points in which they differ are all the more significant, and I had the satisfaction, in comparing the two, to light on certain facts of a kind to confirm two opinions which I have elsewhere attempted to establish : the one that the orthography of those inscriptions is in certain respects of a learned character, aiming not so much at producing the actual pronunciation as at approaching the etymological form of the word ; the other, that even in the versions where, as here in the North-West, the orthography reflects a dialect different from the official Magadho of Asoka, it undergoes and reveals the influence of that dialect in some isolated cases.

At Shahbaz Garhi : The twelfth edict is engraved on a separate stone, that has just been discovered by Captain Deane. At Mansera it has the face of a stone to itself. In both it is engraved with greater care than the rest of the long context. You will permit me to put before you the terms of this edict, the sense of which can, in my opinion, be conclusively settled.

“ King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, honours all the sects whether of ascetics or of householders. He honours them with alms and with honours of various kinds. But the king, beloved of the gods, lays less weight on alms and on worship than he desires the increase of their common essence. This progress implies without doubt many diversities. But for all sects it has a common source which is moderation in language, that is to say, that one should not exalt his own sect by speaking evil of the others, that one should not depreciate them without reason, that one should on the contrary render on all occasions to other sects the honours due. By doing so, one will work for the advance of his own sect, and at the same time be of use to the others. By doing otherwise each one will injure his own sect, and at the same time injure the others. He who exalts his own sect by depreciating all others, does so, of course, out of regard for his own, with the intention of glorifying it. Well, by so doing he only, on the contrary, strikes a severe blow at his own sect. Therefore, concord alone is good, so that all should listen and like to listen to the beliefs of each other. This is, indeed, the wish of the king beloved of the gods that all the sects be learned, and profess pure doctrines. Let

country of the edicts. No sooner had the new stone been unearthed at Shahbaz Garhi than fanaticism roused the inhabitants against it. It bears the fresh marks of attempts to deface it, which were put an end to only by the activity and zeal of Captain Deane. Who will give us back the statues disfigured in our own day, as they emerged from the earth, sometimes by the very men to whom they had been entrusted in that country of Gandhara? Who will restore the broken noses, the amputated legs, and sliced-off arms?

But had these inscriptions and moral exhortations spread by the king in so many places, all the practical importance and immediate utility which seem to be implied in their contents and tone? I cannot help doubting it. I have told you that at Mansera the edicts are engraved in a desert place, hard to get at now, and which can never have been less so. At Shahbaz Garhi there are some traces of the existence of an ancient city. But even there the rock is half-way up a steep hill in a place that cannot have been much frequented, and the inscriptions are placed in such a way that the reading, for example, of the thirteenth and fourteenth edicts must always have been a task of difficulty. At Girnar, we are in a place which seems to have been, from very ancient times, consecrated by religious sentiment. But here, too, the inscription, although very carefully engraved, cannot be read entire from the foot of the rock, and there are several of the edicts at the beginning which, even with the indispensable aid of a ladder, are decidedly not comfortable reading. To examine some of the lines I had to travel over the rock on all fours, and then read them upside down. Were the king's wishes betrayed by the stupidity of his officers? It appears to me more probable that in engraving these texts he had no illusion as to their practical effect, but was actuated partly by the desire of leaving durable witness of the sentiments and ideas, partly also, perhaps, by the prospect of the moral merit he would store up, even by the fact that he multiplied in this way virtuous exhortations. Was it not a similar inspiration which has led so many people to add temple to temple, serving no practical purpose, in desert places, on the summit of such bare mountains as Satrunjaya and Girnar? If I lay any stress on this remark, it is because the fact would be rather favourable to the speculations I have had occasion to submit elsewhere with regard to the language of the inscriptions. It furnishes a good explanation of two peculiarities which, I hope, I have made clear—one, the use of

Magadhi, the dialect of the royal capital, in places where it was in no way the language of the country. The other, the use, specially in the western sets, at Shahbaz Garhi, Mansera and Girnar, of a half learned system of orthography which could not but have disconcerted the ordinary reader. I have only one more remark to offer. I have told you of the places where the fourteen edicts have been discovered at Dhauli and Yangada in the south of Orissa, at Khalsi, at the entrance of the hilly region of the Western Himalaya, at Shahbaz Garhi and at Mansera, towards Cashmere and Cabul, at Girnar, not far from the sea, and towards the western extremity of India. We must add Gutpataka, where Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji and Mr. Campbell have discovered the traces of another series. It may well be that we have so far only a few of the inscriptions set up by Piyadasi, and we may still hope for more than one unexpected discovery. For the present does it not seem as if the series of fourteen edicts were especially meant by the king to mark out his frontiers? It was at all events a noble and honourable way of denoting the doors of his empire. Does he not devote several passages of his memorials to telling us of what he has done or tried to do even beyond those limits of his charity, and attempts of conversion pushed on one side as far as Ceylon, and on the other side up to the distant kingdoms of the Greeks, in the countries of Antiochus Ptolemy, Alexander and Magas? As far as our western world is concerned, these efforts cannot have penetrated very far. That is no reason why we should refuse our sympathy to this old eastern king who cared for our distant West, in a confused way perhaps, but with good will and charity. The West has paid its debt to him, thanks to the genius of Prinsep, by restoring to him the glory of his forgotten works, and it is even now with feelings of sympathy, mixed with scientific curiosity that we renew to-day, and that others will renew after us, these pilgrimages to the monuments of Asóka, and that, now conscious of the tie which binds India to our West, we greet in them the earliest Indian witness to relations of peace and good will between the most widely separated members of our Aryan family. The more precious the witness is, the more it behoves us to preserve it intact? I cannot say if to this end everything which is possible and desirable has been done. At Girnar the rock which bears along with the edicts of Asóka, inscriptions of Rudradaman and Skandagupta has been enclosed within a light construction which will preserve it from the injury of time and of men. I am told that the honour of this

measure belongs to the late Dewan. Could not some similar protection be given to the inscriptions of the North-West? If such care had been bestowed from the beginning, I believe that almost the whole text would be perfectly clear at Shahbaz Garhi. I confess that I should go further and see no inconvenience, if specimens, as, for example, the twelfth edict at Shahbaz Garhi, in the case of which the operation would be an easy one, were removed to some museum in India, whose chief ornament they would be. At all events it would be easy, and it is very desirable to take most careful casts of these monuments. Distributed among several of the principal centres of India, and perhaps also of Europe, they would be safe from all hazards of new injury, and be an object of study of the highest interest. An unhappy fate seems to spread over our too rare inscriptions in Indo-Aryan character. Very few have been published, as, for example, that of Sue Vihar by Mr. Hoernle, in a satisfactory and definitive way, and for a great number of them we do not even know—at least I have not been able to discover—where they now are. That is an additional reason why we should jealously protect those which cannot escape us except by the ravages of time, but which have already so cruelly suffered. I esteem myself fortunate to have had this opportunity of suggesting this wish before one of the highest and most enlightened representatives of power in India. I feel certain that Asóka can rely on the zeal of his successor here. I cannot stop, gentlemen, without thanking you once more for your hospitality. This day, almost the last of my stay in India, will crown my recollections.

ART. III.—*Memoir of the late Pandit Bhagvánlál Indrají,*
LL.D., Ph.D. BY JAVERILAL UMIASHANKAR YAJNIK.

Read 21st May 1888.

“It is sad to think of Pandit Bhagvánlál dying so early, and with so little record left of his learning and talents”—so wrote Mr. J. M. Campbell, B.C.S., C.I.E., Compiler of the *Bombay Gazetteer*, in a note addressed to the writer of this paper in March last. The remark, as will appear later on, is most true. Mr. Campbell had had unusual opportunities of learning a great deal of the Pandit's work, and of his character and learning in connection with the antiquarian portion of the volumes of the *Bombay Gazetteer* generally, and the discovery of the Aśoka Inscriptions at Sopará and the project of an early history of Gujarát in particular. Two months before his death the Pandit had a presentiment that his end was near. It was only a question of a few weeks, he said to us, when I, in company with my friend, Ráo Bahádur Bhimbhái Kirpárám (who, when Assistant Compiler of the *Bombay Gazetteer*, took a deep interest in Bhagvánlál's work), paid a visit to the Pandit at his house in Wálkeshwar in February last. He welcomed his friends, because conversation with them, he said, revived his drooping spirits and made him for a time forget his pain. We found him sitting on a cushion in a contemplative mood, very much after the manner of a Jain Tirthankar. We saw him much reduced : he was suffering from dropsy : his chest had grown disproportionately large : his legs were swollen. We saw him dictating, though with bated breath, his last views on the genealogy of the Kshatrap dynasty to Mr. Vithalji Keshavji Dvivedi, Superintendent of the Gokuldás Tejpál Boarding School and Sanskrit College. Mr. Vithalji was taking down in English the remarks which the Pandit was dictating in Gujaráti. Pointing to the portion already taken down, the Pandit said :—“This is my last contribution to Indian archeology. It contains views which I have arrived at after a careful and continuous study, extending over twenty-six years, of the Kshatrap coins and inscriptions. The writing of this fragment I looked upon in the light of a debt I owed to archeology, and now that I am in a fair way towards

its completion, it is no small relief to me to know that I am in a position to redeem my pledge in respect of one at least of the numerous literary projects over which my mind had been ruminating for several years, and the execution of which was only a question of leisure and steady application.' He did not fear to die. He thought he had devoted the best portion of his life to good, honest, substantial work. The only regret he felt was that he had been unable to commit to writing, even by way of rough notes in his mother-tongue, Gujaráti, the final results of all his enquiries and thoughts. The fact was that some fresh coins he met with, some inscriptions, stone or copper-plate, that he came across or heard of, aroused his curiosity, and set him on a new train of thoughts. And his mind was not at rest till he had heard the last of the coin, or the copper-plate, or stone inscription, or dealt with it in a practical manner. This drew him off from the execution of his settled plans. Latterly, he found it scarcely possible to carry out his long-cherished design of publishing to the world, with the aid of the knowledge which recent advances in archeology gave him, a history of Gujarát from the early Hindu period down to about the thirteenth century of the Christian era. Bhagvánlál was also well aware that he could not carry out many of his other projects, and that some of the best results of the knowledge he had laboured for years to acquire must perish with him. And the world must be considered poorer by so much as Bhagvánlál could not leave behind him in the shape of some solid memorial of all the vast stores of information respecting the antiquities of India that he possessed. My friend, Ráo Bahádur Bhimbhái, however, suggested that though it was now scarcely possible to do that which the Pandit himself was unable to carry out in his lifetime, yet some efforts might and should be made to jot down on paper from his own lips some of the reminiscences of his personal life,—some account of his travels in India and on its frontiers—if his health permitted of his dictating the same to any one of us. The papers, argued Mr. Bhimbhái, published by the Pandit from time to time in the journals of the learned societies in India and Europe, and in the *Indian Antiquary*, will doubtless bear witness to his labours in the field of Indian archeology, but such papers cannot satisfy the curiosity of those who wished to know something about his personal character—something as to what he was—how he came to study archeology—what he did for its advancement—what tours he undertook in pursuance of his plans—what results those tours yielded—how

block, which is perhaps thirty yards distant, is engraved on two faces to the north-east and to the south-east. The first contains edicts nine to eleven, and the other the twelfth. To sum up, Mansera gives us a new version, more or less complete, of the first twelve edicts. I have little doubt that the two last had also been engraved here, but they do not seem now to be known of as in existence by the inhabitants; and the hurried search I was able to undertake on the spot led to no result. It may be that the inscription has fallen down with the face against the ground, or that it is more or less entirely buried. It is precisely such a circumstance which has delayed so long the discovery of the twelfth edict at Shahbaz Garhi. Only some weeks ago did Captain Deane, while stepping once more through that celebrated place which had been before searched over by experienced and devoted archæologists, notice a few characters on a stone just emerging from the soil. In clearing away the surrounding ground, he brought to light an entire and well preserved inscription, which is nothing else, as I told you before, than the previously missing version of the twelfth edict. This boulder lies just at the foot of the hill, on the steep slope of which, about forty yards higher up, the other boulder stands in marvellous equilibrium, which contains on its two faces, on one side the first seven edicts, on the other the thirteenth and the fourteenth, both faces, especially the second, much corroded by time, but still capable of yielding to a patient study, conducted with perseverance and sufficient leisure, many corrections to the current version. I do not need to insist upon the interest of those good tidings. Of course, these are texts which are known to us in other versions, and the general sense of which is sufficiently established. But it is precisely the version the least well preserved and the least settled, which is in this way controlled and completed by a parallel version which will enable us to fill up more than one gap, and clear up more than one doubt. I will add, that these inscriptions of the North-West, if some conjectures, which I have elsewhere expressed prove true, as I hope they may, would be precious and unique relics of that conquest of North India by the Persians, of which we know so little. It is, perhaps, through the influence of the Persian chancellery that the alphabet in which they are written has found its way to India; while, on the other hand, it may be from some tradition of the Persian kings that an Emperor of India borrowed the idea of engraving long memorials on the rock. Be that as it may, the scarcity of inscriptions written in these Aramean

characters insure some importance even to palaeographic niceties. The two versions of Mansera and Shahbaz Garhi are geographically so near each other and on the whole so exactly alike, that there can be no question here of looking for different dialects. The few points in which they differ are all the more significant, and I had the satisfaction, in comparing the two, to light on certain facts of a kind to confirm two opinions which I have elsewhere attempted to establish : the one that the orthography of those inscriptions is in certain respects of a learned character, aiming not so much at producing the actual pronunciation as at approaching the etymological form of the word ; the other, that even in the versions where, as here in the North-Weet, the orthography reflects a dialect different from the official Magadho of Aśoka, it undergoes and reveals the influence of that dialect in some isolated cases.

At Shahbaz Garhi : The twelfth edict is engraved on a separate stone, that has just been discovered by Captain Deane. At Mansera it has the face of a stone to itself. In both it is engraved with greater care than the rest of the long context. You will permit me to put before you the terms of this edict, the sense of which can, in my opinion, be conclusively settled.

“ King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, honours all the sects whether of ascetics or of householders. He honours them with alms and with honours of various kinds. But the king, beloved of the gods, lays less weight on alms and on worship than he desires the increase of their common essence. This progress implies without doubt many diversities. But for all sects it has a common source which is moderation in language, that is to say, that one should not exalt his own sect by speaking evil of the others, that one should not depreciate them without reason, that one should on the contrary render on all occasions to other sects the honours due. By doing so, one will work for the advance of his own sect, and at the same time be of use to the others. By doing otherwise each one will injure his own sect, and at the same time injure the others. He who exalts his own sect by depreciating all others, does so, of course, out of regard for his own, with the intention of glorifying it. Well, by so doing he only, on the contrary, strikes a severe blow at his own sect. Therefore, concord alone is good, so that all should listen and like to listen to the beliefs of each other. This is, indeed, the wish of the king beloved of the gods that all the sects be learned, and profess pure doctrines. Let

the Pandit, consisting of valuable published works on Indian Antiquities, he directs to be made over to the Bombay Native General Library.

I take leave to exhibit to the meeting photographs of the lion-figured pillar taken by the Pandit himself and the collection of MSS. bequeathed by him to the Society. There is also on the table the Pandit's monograph on the pillar inscriptions describing the nature and importance of his crowning discovery. As it is, the monograph is not in a fit state for publication, but I am sure that Dr. Peterson, who has the charge of it, will do ample justice to the subject. I shall not anticipate its contents here as I desire to see the Pandit receive the full credit which rightly belongs to him in connection with this discovery. You have seen that the Pandit attaches, and very properly, I think, great value to this pillar. The reason of this lies in the fact that the two inscriptions upon it record the names of sixteen members of the Kshatrap house, and that these names supply a link or links in the Kshatrap genealogy. It may not be out of place here to suggest that before transmitting this lion-figured pillar to its destination in London, Dr. Peterson will kindly allow it to remain for some time in the University library, where it lies at present, with a view to satisfy the curiosity of those who may desire to inspect this latest archeological wonder.

Pandit Bhagvánlál had no son or heir to succeed to his property. "My Śákhá," says he, "ends with me." His house at Wálkeshwar he directed to be put in charge of the Cutchi Bhátia community whose affairs are managed by the house of Jivráj Bálu, the place to be used as a sanitarium by those amongst high-caste Hindus who wish to reside at Wálkeshwar for the benefit of their health.

So far for his property. But the Pandit lays down directions as to how his body should be disposed of, and what his relatives should do in respect of funeral ceremonies. And here may be mentioned a fact which may strike some as curious, but is not out of the routine of ordinary Hindu life. It is not unusual for Bráhmans to perform their own funeral ceremonies during their lifetime (*jívat kriyá*) in anticipation of death. Bhagvánlál had himself performed such ceremonies relating to himself during his lifetime. He accordingly directed in his Will that these ceremonies need not be repeated. If he died out of Bombay, he wished his body to be consigned to flames by those of his Bráhman friends who attended him. If he died in Bombay, he desired it to be

burnt according to directions laid down by him. These directions give the details of the ceremonies to be followed by his relatives, such as the sprinkling over his body of the Ganges water brought by him from Benares, and covering it with the sacred cotton sheet. "My relatives or friends," says he, "should carry the dead body to the burning-place, repeating the name of God while proceeding there." He desired expressly that no male or female member of his caste was to weep after him as is the Hindu custom. Women were not to be present at the time at all. Persons composing the funeral procession were to return to his house, take rest, and disperse. Letters intimating his death were to be written to the members of his family at Junághad, strictly enjoining the male members not to weep, and the female members not to beat their breasts. "With the greatest humility," says he, "I beseech my relatives and friends to consider how great a sin it is to act contrary to the wishes of the former owner of what would then be a helpless corpse." These directions were generally faithfully carried out.

To turn to the particulars of the Pandit's life. Pandit Bhagvánlál Indrají was born at Junághad in Kathiawád, on the 3rd of Kártik shud of the Samvat year 1896, corresponding with the 7th of November 1839, of the Christian era. He belonged to the class of Prasnorá Nágars Bráhmaṇs, one of the six sub-divisions of the caste of Nágars Bráhmaṇs. The Prasnorá Nágars are scattered over Porbandar, Junághad, Navánagar, Morvi, and other parts of Kathiawád. They are a hereditary literary class, following the profession of Veda-reciting, reading and interpreting the epic poems, the Purans, and the Dharma Śastras. A good number of them are Vaidyas or medical practitioners, whilst others are astrologers. Bhagvánlál, the youngest of the three sons of Indrají, after receiving the usual amount of instruction given in the indigenous schools of his time, studied Sanskrit and medicine under his father's roof. Unfortunately there was in his time no Anglo-Vernacular or High School in Junághad, where he could study English. His ignorance of English was a drawback to the Pandit as he advanced in his favourite study of archeology and grew in reputation. Especially did it prove a serious impediment to him after the death of Dr. Bháu Dáji, and after his name had become well-known amongst scholars in India and Europe. Amongst letters and enquiries addressed to him by European scholars, those from Dr. Bühler appear to be the only ones written in Gujaráti. The special accomplish-

ment of this scholar was doubtless a matter of the greatest satisfaction to him, as he was able to correspond with Dr. Bühler in Gujaráti. In corresponding with other scholars he invariably got friends to help him, but the necessity of applying to them for such help was somewhat galling to his spirit. He tried hard, at a later stage, to overcome this difficulty by assiduous application, but he found English idiom at his age not very easy to master, though his acquaintance with it was just enough to enable him to read and understand ordinary English tolerably well. In all his epigraphical and archeological work, however, he was ever ready to acknowledge the kind help he received from his European and Native friends.

But though it was not possible for Junághad to equip Bhagvánlál with the means of acquiring a knowledge of English, it had that which excited his curiosity, which procured him introduction to the society of the learned, and which laid the foundation of his future career. The Gírnár hills, famous for their inscriptions of the edicts of Áśoka and of the Śáh and Gupta dynasties, lie contiguous to Junághad. Bhagvánlál had seen these inscriptions frequently in his visits to Gírnár and felt a strong desire to be able to read them, but being in old Páli characters they were to him like a sealed book. To fathom their secrets became a passion with him, but neither in Junághad nor in Kathiawád did these ancient characters excite curiosity or interest amongst the Pandits or indigenous Sanskrit scholars of his time.

How Bhagvánlál learnt to decipher and interpret cave characters it may be interesting to know. It appears that Colonel Lang, Political Agent of Kathiawád, took much interest in these Gírnár inscriptions. He it was who had supplied *facsimiles* of the Áśoka inscriptions on the Gírnár rock to James Prinsep, and it was from a careful study and collation of them with copies received by him from Dhauli and Kapurdi Giri that Prinsep was able to announce his discoveries of the names of Antiochus and Ptolemy in the edicts, and to frame from an examination of them and of other coins and inscriptions a complete system of the alphabet of old Páli characters which served as a key for deciphering other inscriptions. About 1854, Colonel Lang handed over to Mr. Manishankar Jatáshankar, an intelligent Junághad Nágara Bráhmaṇa, a thin paper containing the Indian Páli alphabet taken from Prinsep's journal for April 1833, saying 'these are the characters of your Gírnár inscriptions.' Bhagvánlál, who had the copy shown to him, offered to take a tracing of them on paper. He brought the paper home, and

taking a thin piece of post paper, and dipping it into oil, placed it over Mr. Manishankar's copy, and took two excellent tracings, both of which he stitched on separate pieces of foolscap paper. 'Subsequently,' says he, 'I inked all the letters on the tracings. It is true this process interfered slightly with the cleanliness of the tracings, but it made the letters more legible. One tracing I gave over to Mr. Manishankar; the other I kept for my own use.' With the help of this alphabet Bhagvánlál tried to read the Rudra Dámá inscription on the Girnár rock. He found, however, that the inscription abounded in compound letters and mátrás, with which he had not made himself familiar. Not despairing of the ill-success of his first attempt, he wrote to a friend in Bombay requesting to purchase for him and send to Junághad any works or journals treating of the Girnár rock inscriptions. Accordingly, copies of the journals of the Asiatic Societies of Bengal and of Great Britain and Ireland, and of the journals of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society were sent to him. The receipt of these journals gave a new stimulus to his studies. What he did to thoroughly master the old rock characters was to write out from the printed inscriptions a line in old characters, and its transcript in Sanskrit below each letter. In this way he acquired facility in mastering the varieties of form which each letter of the old Páli alphabet assumed at different periods. He was also able to make out any new or unfamiliar letter he came across. Thus prepared, he ventured to renew his attempt to decipher the original Rudra Dámá inscription on the Girnár rock. "I used," says he, "to start from Junághad in time to be on the rock of the Rudra Dámá inscription at four in the afternoon and work at it till a little before sunset, and return home about the time of lamp-light. In this way I was able not only to read every letter of the Rudra Dámá inscription, but to supply such of the omissions as I found out in Prinsep's copy. I also discerned what incorrect letters had got into Prinsep's transcript. In this way I made out an entirely new transcript of the Rudra Dámá inscription." Bhagvánlál's facilities in deciphering inscriptions and his interest in the work generally grew with the increasing number of inscriptions he came to deal with. Col. Lang was so pleased with his progress that he used to call Bhagvánlál his "little antiquarian."

Among native scholars, however, the study of these Indian antiquities was at that time confined to a select few. In the Bombay Presidency the late Bál Sástri Jámbekar and Dr. Bháu Dáji were

perhaps the only two names then chiefly known to Anglo-Indian scholars who interested themselves in archeology. About this time Bhagvánlál was brought into contact with Mr. A. K. Forbes, who had for a time succeeded Colonel Lang as Political Agent of Káthiawád. Mr. Forbes' literary tastes ran in the same groove as those of Bhagvánlál. He recommended the Pandit to the notice of Dr. Bháu Dáji. Dr. Bháu wrote to Bhagvánlál in October 1881, inviting him to Bombay. Bhagvánlál accepted the invitation and started for Bombay, taking with him sixty Kshatrap coins. On his arrival in Bombay, Bhagvánlál was introduced by Dr. Bháu Dáji to Mr. H. Newton, then President of this Society. Mr. Newton was at the time writing a paper on the Kshatrap dynasty. The sixty Kshatrap coins that Bhagvánlál placed before him interested him much. On one of them was the legend of Nahápán. This name and others which were clearly read out to Mr. Newton greatly pleased him. Bhagvánlál also handed over to Dr. Bháu the correct transcripts he had made of the Rudra Dámá and Skandagupta inscriptions. He pointed out at the same time the urgent need of doing anew the whole work of deciphering the inscriptions of the Máurya, Śáh and Gupta dynasties on the Gírnár rock. Dr. Bháu was much impressed with the importance of this work. He found Prof. H. H. Wilson's translation of the Śáh inscription in Mr. Thomas' edition of Prinsep to be "anything but an improvement." He accordingly deputed Bhagvánlál back to Junághad for this purpose. At Junághad Bhagvánlál learnt of the death of his father, on the performance of whose funeral ceremonies he set out for Gírnár, and took *facsimiles* on paper and cloth of the Rudra Dámá and Skandagupta inscriptions. Copies were also made of them by hand and sent to Dr. Bháu at Bombay. Dr. Bháu was much pleased with the performance. The transcripts and translations of the Śáh and Skandagupta inscriptions thus made formed the subject of a paper which Dr. Bháu Dáji read before this Society on the 14th August 1882. In this paper Dr. Bháu thus speaks of Bhagvánlál:—

"Prof. Wilson's translation (of the Śáh inscription) is anything but an improvement. Having secured the services of a young Bráhmaṇ who possessed a moderate knowledge of Sanskrit and of the cave character, I induced him to study the character well and employed him last year to take copies leisurely and carefully of the three large inscriptions on the Junághad rock, the third being the celebrated

edicts of Aśoka. The copies were brought to Bombay and carefully gone over, but not being quite satisfied, the young Pandit was again sent to Junághad, where he and another person copied the inscriptions, but independent of each other, and afterwards took *facsimiles* on paper and on cloth. The copies made by hand in small letters were sent to me in Bombay, whilst the copyists remained at Junághad to receive suggestions, &c., from me. All possible variations having thus been carefully considered with my learned Pandit Pándurang Gopál Pádhyé, the mature result is now presented to the Society. I found the copies of Messrs. Westergaard and Jacob very useful as guides, but insufficient for the purposes of decipherment.”*

This translation differed in many important respects from that of Prinsep, doubtless on account of the imperfect nature of Prinsep's *facsimile*. The name of the lake, Sudarśana, which occurs at the very beginning of the inscription, was not recognised by Prinsep. Again, Prinsep's Aridama was only a mislection of Rudra Dámá. Moreover, an important historical fact in Dr. Bháu's translation, as pointed out by him in the paper, was the discovery that Rudra Dámá appeared to have been a grandson of Swámi Chashtana and not his son. The inscription did contain the father's name, but that part of it was unfortunately completely lost. Dr. Bháu also pointed out from the translation that the name of the actual builder of the bridge over the Sudarśana lake was not the Palhava Máya or contractor as rendered by Prinsep, but the Palhava Minister of Rudra Dámá, named Suviśákha, which Dr. Bháu considered to be a Sanskrit adaptation of the Persian name, Śiavaksha, who seemed to have been appointed Governor of Anarta and Suráśtra. It was not an uncommon thing for Hindu rulers, even in those early times, to appoint foreigners to provincial Governorships, as in latter times it was an ordinary incident of the Mahomedan administration of India to appoint Hindus to the offices of ministers and provincial Governors.

These Junághad inscriptions on the whole pleased Dr. Bháu Dáji so much that he decided upon taking Bhagvánlál into his employment permanently. He accordingly asked Bhagvánlál to come to Bombay, promising him every help and offering every facility in the new field of archeological research, for which he had shown

* *Journal of the B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. VII., p. 113.

peculiar fitness by the work he had already done. Bhagvánlál accordingly arrived in Bombay on the 24th April 1862. Dr. Bhau received the Pandit most kindly. He directed a tent to be pitched in the compound of his house to accommodate the Pandit temporarily. Thus was formed a literary connection which lasted uninterruptedly till the death of the learned Doctor. The relations in which Dr. Bháu Dáji stood towards Bhagvánlál were, however, not those of master and servant, but rather of partners in a common concern, the object being to explore the archeological remains of this country and extend the boundaries of human knowledge with regard to the authentic history of ancient India. Dr. Bháu Dáji could not afford to leave Bombay for any length of time. As most of you will remember, he was one of the busiest men of his day. He enjoyed a high reputation for medical and surgical skill. In fact, he was looked up to as the first and foremost amongst the earliest batch of native medical practitioners that the Grant Medical College turned out. He enjoyed a most extensive and lucrative practice amongst all classes of the native community in Bombay. But while thus distinguished in his profession, Dr. Bháu was also well known as a man of wide culture, of refined and cultivated tastes, the active spirit of many an important movement which had the social, moral and political advancement of the people for its object; a patron of learning and of learned śástris, who never turned their backs from him without feeling that he had the liberality of the Bhoja of Avantí, and last, though not least, a scholar and an antiquarian burning with a desire to strike out something new from amongst the unexplored regions of literature and science in India. He thus needed the help of one who could do that by means of work out of Bombay, which he himself could scarcely afford to do. In Bhagvánlál he found a man just after his own heart, one who possessed the ardour of youth, an indomitable energy to work for days and months in distant places, and all for purely literary and scientific purposes. Each partner in this literary firm undertook to furnish his quota to the common stock. Dr. Bháu had mastered the literature of the Indian antiquities as it then existed in the English language. He had also had translations made for him into English of works written by German and French scholars on oriental subjects. He had thus kept himself abreast of the progress made in his time by Europe and America in the department of Indian antiquarian research. Pandit Bhagvánlál,

on the other hand, visited the very fountain sources of knowledge in different parts of India, such as caves, monasteries, rock-cut temples, &c., where old inscriptions could be found, and where knowledge could be had at first hand.

And now as to the operations of this literary firm. Ever since his first visit to the caves of Ajantá and Ellora in 1845, in company with Sir Erskine Perry, Dr. Bháu had felt a strong desire to undertake a thorough revision of their inscriptions and paintings. He found Prinsep's copies incorrect: Dr. Bird's copies showed that no great efforts were made to ensure correctness. The Government of Bombay had engaged Lieutenant W. F. Brett to copy the cave inscriptions. Lieutenant Brett's copies of the Ajantá inscriptions were sent to England, but judging of their character from two or three duplicates in the possession of this Society, Dr. Bháu found them to have been carelessly and inaccurately taken. The one truth of which Dr. Bháu Dáji was by this time thoroughly convinced was that it was "not possible for any person ignorant of the cave characters to take correct copies of the inscriptions."* In February 1863, the Doctor paid a second visit to the caves in company with Dr. H. Carter. From morning till sunset he was engaged in copying them, but the task was by no means easy or pleasant, as some of the inscriptions were at a great height and looked down on giddy precipices. He was not, however, able to complete them. The presence of Bhagvánlál in Bombay, in April 1863, appeared to Dr. Bháu a fit opportunity for completing the work he had begun. He accordingly deputed Bhagvánlál to the Ajantá caves. "Notwithstanding great care and diligence," says Dr. Bháu, "I found the time insufficient for thorough revision, and as important facts were expected from the rock inscriptions, which have never before been completely or correctly copied, I sent a young Pandit in my employment, who had made considerable progress in the knowledge of the cave characters, to Ajantá with my draftsman in the latter part of May."† Bhagvánlál carefully examined the doubtful letters in the copies taken by Dr. Bháu, and sent fresh copies, duly corrected, to him at Bombay, and awaited receipt at the caves of further remarks and suggestions from Dr. Bháu. On receipt of these suggestions, the copies underwent a further revision. Many of the

* *Journal of the B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. VII., p. 56.

† *Ibid.*, p. 53.

letters were made out by the evening and morning light, and by patient application and study on the spot as well as at home. Bhagvánlál returned to Bombay from the caves in June. Thus carefully deciphered, the Ajantá inscriptions, which were twenty-three in number, with their transcripts and translations, were submitted with a paper by Dr. Bháu Dáji, read before this Society on the 10th July 1853, and published in Volume VII. of our Journal.

The rainy season of 1863 Bhagvánlál spent in Bombay. He was busily occupied in taking copies and making transcripts of inscriptions from the Caves at Násik, Kárlí, Bhájá, Bhendar, Junnar, Pitalkhori, and Náneghát.

On the 22nd December 1863, Dr. Bháu Dáji proceeded, in company with Mr. Cursetji Nusserwanji Cama, Mr. Ardesir Framji Moos, and a number of friends, on a rapid tour through the south of India, the N.-W. Provinces, Bengal, and Upper India.* Before leaving Bombay, Dr. Bháu had arranged, on the recommendation of Sir Bartle Frere, to send Pandits Pándurang Gopál Pádhyè and Bhagvánlál to inspect the Jain Bhandárs at Jesselmere, and take copies of such of the works found therein as were rare or new and important. It was in the height of the cold season of 1864 that the two Pandits started on this literary expedition. They took their route by Karáchi and Sind. At Jesselmere they obtained the permission of the Durbar to examine the Bhandár containing the Jain MSS. The place where the MSS. were deposited was damp, and the work of sitting down and copying such of them as were found useful in such damp atmosphere brought on typhoid fever to Bhagvánlál and malarious fever to Pándurang Pádhyè. They suffered from these fevers for twenty-two days out of the three months that they stopped there. On recovery, in May 1864, they returned to Bombay *viá* Deesa.

The year 1865 and those which followed were not propitious to literary pursuits in Bombay. The sudden influx of cotton wealth into this City had turned men's minds from sober pursuits. This prosperity was, as is well-known, short-lived. It was followed by a monetary crisis which was as sharp as it was sudden. Pandit Bhagvánlál accordingly thought the time was suitable for practically carrying out his long-conceived design of visiting ancient Hindu shrines throughout India,

* A most interesting account of this tour has been given by Mr. A. F. Moos in his work, entitled "Travels in India."

with a view to making a personal examination of all old inscriptions on stones, rocks and pillars. In this he was confirmed by what Dr. Bháu had seen and felt in his rapid tour in the N.-W. Provinces. "My travels in various parts of India," said Dr. Bháu Dáji, "have enabled me personally to examine and copy many valuable inscriptions on stones and rocks, and I am convinced that every one of the inscriptions on rocks, and almost every copper-plate grant published years ago, require thorough revision, whilst I know hundreds if not thousands of inscriptions on temples, &c., which, if carefully examined by a competent person like Bhagvánlál, a flood of light could be thrown on the history and antiquities of India beyond the expectations of the most zealous Orientalists, who do not conceal their disappointment at the results of Indian historical researches."* Very serious importance was attached by scholars to more correct readings of old inscriptions. It was in fact the only condition on which Indian archeology depended for its progress. Nothing illustrates the truth of this proposition better than an anecdote which points to a serious moral but which passes as a current joke in Gujarát even at the present day. The story goes that a letter addressed by a native of Márwád to a relative in Gujarát contained intimation couched in the following sentence :—

क क अ अ न र ग ब छ क क क ट छ

By one person the sentence was read as :—

काका भाज नरी गया छे काकी ऊटे छे

i. e. Uncle died to-day (and) aunt bewails his loss. But this melancholy news gave way to a cheerful feeling on another person deciphering and interpreting the same sentence as :—

काका अजमेर गया छे काकी कोटे छे

i. e. Uncle has gone to Ajmere (and) aunt is at Kotah.

Bhagvánlál obtained a year's leave from Dr. Bháu in 1868 to be absent in Upper India. He started by way of Nágpur and Jabalpur for Alláhabád, where he got the permission of the authorities for the erection of a scaffolding on the Alláhabád Lát or column, for the purpose of taking a *facsimile* on cloth of the inscription of Samudragupta. It took him five days to complete the work. The copy thus prepared was sent with its transcript to Dr. Bháu, who thought so highly

* Journal of the B. B. R. A. S., Vol. IX., p. cxcvii.

[illegible]

of research. The greater the number of places he visited, the larger was the field opened to him for epigraphical study. This time also, under the arrangements made by Dr. Bháu, he was placed in funds by the Junághad Durbar to carry on his work. So off he started in December 1873 for Upper India. This tour took an unexpected turn by the opportunity it gave him of visiting Nepál and the frontier of India on the Thibetan side. It would extend the limits of this paper to inordinate length were I to describe this tour. Pandit Bhagvánlál has left notes in Gujaráti of his various tours, of his visit to Beluchistan and the Yusufzai territory, of what he saw and did in Nepál, of the reception he met with at the hands of the late Sir Jung Bahádúr, of the Buddhist caves in Nepál that he visited, of the inscriptions on them which he discovered and took down, and of the serious illness which overtook him. Many of these notes are in the shape of letters addressed to his friend, Mr. Karsandás Vallabhdás, the executor of his Will. I trust that my worthy friend, Mr. Karsandás, who has invariably evinced his interest in literary undertakings, will see his way to the publication of these notes, as from a glance I have had of a portion of them, I am unhesitatingly of opinion that the account of the Pandit's travels given in these notes, and his shrewd observations on men and things will possess interest not merely for the scholar and the antiquarian, but for the general reader. Their literary merits alone will make them valuable additions to Gujaráti literature, which is sadly deficient in standard prose, and especially in works of travel.

After the return of the Pandit from his last tour he found that the one man in the whole of India to whom the results of his explorations were of the most direct interest, the one man who contributed so much to their success, was laid prostrate by a stroke of paralysis. He found Dr. Bháu rapidly succumbing to the influence of this malady till at last he sank under it on the 29th May 1874. To the Pandit the death of one who was to him not merely a friend and patron, but the inspirer of all that he undertook in life, was a blow from which he could not easily recover.

As evidencing Dr. Bháu's affection for him the Pandit used to relate that when the learned Doctor heard of his serious illness in Nepál, he, though confined to his bed, requested Mr. W. M. Wood, our late Secretary, to see him. To Mr. Wood Dr. Bháu expressed

his utmost anxiety for the life of the Pandit, and pointed out the urgent need of telegraphing to Mr. Girdlestone, our Resident at Khatmándu, to ascertain the state of the Pandit's health by a personal visit and enquiry. Mr. Girdlestone personally went to the Pandit and telegraphed to Mr. Wood, for Dr. Bháu's information, that the fever had left the Pandit, and that he intended soon to return to India. Again, Dr. Bháu, finding that the Pandit's health gave way in Nepál on account of the unwholesome *toor dhál* (*Cajanus indicus*) the Pandit was obliged to use for food, sent a quantity of it by post at charges which were double its original cost. The Post Office people could not easily account for the despatch of the grain through the post. They suspected that something else must have been concealed in the bundle. Accordingly, the Nepál Post Office, when giving delivery of the parcel to the Pandit's servant, directed it to be opened in the presence of the Postmaster, when on opening it the Postmaster found the contents to be purely *toor dhál* ! The Pandit saw in this a fresh instance of the Doctor's ceaseless anxiety for his health.

Bhagvánlál thought that the best tribute of respect which he could pay to the memory of the deceased as patron, master, *guru* or teacher, and friend, was to work out his own teachings and follow in his own footsteps in the field of Indian research. The ideal of what constitutes a man of learning which the Pandit had come to form was conceived very much from what he had seen in the character of Dr. Bháu and in his love of knowledge for its own sake. Encouraged by the example of Dr. Bháu, the Pandit now perceived that in his study of archeology he had arrived at a point from which, relying upon his own enquiries, he was able to advance it a few steps further. His inability to express his thoughts in English was no doubt a disadvantage, but was by no means an impediment in the prosecution of research. In Dr. Bühler, Mr. J. M. Campbell, Dr. Codrington, Dr. Burgess, Dr. Peterson, Dr. Da Cunha and others, he had friends who appreciated his learning and his worth, and who looked upon everything coming from so accurate an epigraphist and so ripe a scholar as deserving of every attention. Dr. Bühler frequently helped the Pandit in putting his Gujaráti notes into English, and confirming or criticising the conclusions arrived at by the Pandit. One of the papers thus translated was on the ancient Nágari numerals. It announced the Pandit's discovery that the old Nágari numerals are *aksharas* or syllables, and that they are

expressed in the Kshatrap, Valabhi and Gupta inscriptions and coins. In a postscript to this paper, Dr. Bühler remarked that he undertook the task of translating this article from the Pandit's Gujarati notes because, "after considering all his arguments, I felt convinced of the general correctness of his views and because I wished to secure for my fellow-Sanskritists a speedy publication of this important discovery, and to the Pandit the credit due to him."* With Mr. J. Campbell the Pandit was associated in connection with the work of the *Bombay Gazetteer* and the discovery of the Sopará Buddhist relics. Dr. Burgess was also in constant communication with the Pandit, seeking his help in the work of deciphering and making transcripts of inscriptions for his reports on archeological surveys. To Drs. Bühler and Burgess the Pandit was indebted for the publication of his Nepál inscriptions.

In this way the Pandit published the results of his researches and discoveries from time to time. The following is a list of his published contributions as far as I have been able to make out :—

(a) *To the Journal the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.*

- (1) Gadhia Coins of Gujarát and Málwá.
- (2) Revised Facsimile, Transcript and Translation of Inscriptions.
- (3) On Ancient Nágari Numeration from an inscription at Náneghát.
- (4) A new Ándhrabhritya King, from a Kanheri Cave Inscription.
- (5) Copper-plate of the Siláhára Dynasty.
- (6) Coins of the Ándhrabhritya Kings of Southern India.
- (7) Antiquarian Remains at Sopará and Padan.
- (8) A new copper-plate grant of the Chálukya dynasty found at Naosári.
- (9) New Copper-plate Grant of the Ráshtrakúta dynasty.
- (10) A Copper-plate Grant of the Traikutaka King, Daharaseña.
- (11) Transcript and Translation of the Bhitári Lát Inscription.
- (12) An Inscription of King Asokavalla.

(b) *To the Indian Antiquary.*

- (13) Ancient Nágari Numerals, with a note by Dr. Bühler.
- (14) The Inscription of Rudradáman at Junágadh.

* *Indian Antiquary.*

- (15) The Shaiva Prakramá.
- (16) Inscriptions from Nepál.
- (17) Inscription from Kám or Kámvan.
- (18) The Inscriptions of Ásoka.
- (19) The Kuhnan Inscription of Skandagupta.
- (20) An Inscription at Gayá, dated in the year 1813 of Buddha's Nirván, with two others of the same period.
- (21) A Bactro-Páli Inscription of Siáhár.
- (22) A New Yádava Dynasty.
- (23) A New Gurjarát Copper-plate Grant.
- (24) Some Considerations on the History of Nepál, edited by Dr. Bühler.

(d) *To the Proceedings of the International Congress of Orientalists held at Leyden in 1883.*

- (25) The Hathigumphá and three other Inscriptions in the Udayagiri Caves.

(e) *To the Transactions of the Seventh International Oriental Congress held at Vienna.*

- (26) Two New Chalukya Inscriptions.

(f) *To the Bombay Gazetteer.*

- (27) Portions relating to archæology in different volumes.

(g) *In separate and miscellaneous forms.*

- (28) Inscriptions from the Cave-Temples of Western India, with descriptive notes, edited by Dr. Burgess.

- (29) Contributions to Dr. Burgess' Archeological Survey of Western India.

Some of these contributions announced important discoveries which attracted much attention in India and England. I have already referred to the Pandit's paper on old Nágari Numerals. This discovery, as Dr. Bühler observed at the time it was made, alone entitled Bhagvánlál to rank in the first class of Indian antiquarians. Another discovery which made a great stir at the time not only amongst scholars in India and Europe, but amongst the Buddhists of Ceylon, and the Jains of Bombay, was that of the Buddhist relics found at Sopárá, near Bassein, in April 1882. The circumstances connected with this discovery, the offer by a Bombay merchant of Rs. 2,000 for one of the images of

Buddha, the petition of the Buddhist High Priest of Ceylon, H. Suman-gala, for a small portion of the bowl of Gautama for deposit in the monastery at Adam's Peak, the exposure to public view of the relic at Widlyodaya College, the discovery of the fragment of the eighth edict of Aśoka—these are so fresh in your memory that I will not take up your time in reiterating them. It is sufficient for me here to say that Pandit Bhagvánlál and Mr. J. M. Campbell received the thanks of the Government of Bombay for the great trouble taken by them in connection with this most interesting discovery. Government also directed, as you are aware, that the relics should be permanently deposited in the museum of this Society, and not transmitted to Europe, as suggested by Dr. Burgess.

These contributions and the important discoveries which some of them announced secured for Pandit Bhagvánlál a high reputation amongst scholars in India and Europe. They were followed by honours one after another. Our own Society elected him an honorary member in 1877. The Government of Bombay appointed him a Fellow of the Bombay University in January 1882. The Board of the Royal Institute of Philology, Geography, and Ethnology of Netherlands-India at the Hague made him a Foreign Member of the Society in October 1883. Professor Max Müller, in a note to the Pandit, addressed on the 30th November 1883, acknowledging the receipt of his paper on "Nasik, Pandu Lena Caves," wrote:—"I must congratulate you on the excellent work you have been doing, and I hope you will continue it. Dr. Bháu Dáji's death was a great loss, but you are able to fill his place and carry on his work. You have proved yourself a truly conscientious scholar, and that means more in my eye than any amount of learning." The Senate of the Leyden University conferred upon the Pandit the degree of Doctor, *honoris causá*, in January 1884. In making this announcement, Professor H. Kern remarked:—"I cannot but heartily congratulate you with that signal acknowledgment of the services which you have rendered to science by your most valuable contributions to the study of Indian epigraphy. The decree of our Senate may convince you that your work is no less appreciated in Europe than in your own country." About the same time the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland elected him an Honorary Fellow, his election being strongly supported by Colonel Yule, Sir Edward Clive Bayley and others. Mr. Edward Thomas, in a note to the Pandit informing him of this election

observed : —“We won the day against the claims of the late President of the Oriental Congress.”

It was the intention of the Compiler of the *Bombay Gazetteer* to devote a great portion of the first volume of the *Gazetteer* to the early history of the chief divisions of this Presidency. The portion relating to the early history of the Dekkan was entrusted to Prof. Rámkrishna Gopál Bhandárkar. And no historian of that period, I think, could have acquitted himself of his task in a more admirable manner. Prof. Bhandárkar has brought to a focus the researches of modern scholarship in archeology and philology, including the most recent advances to our stock of knowledge in elucidating the early history of the Dekkan. The materials for an early history of Gujarát lie scattered in different directions. The two scholars who recently made important contributions to it were Dr. Bühler and Pandit Bhagvánlál Indrají. Prof. Bühler's engagements at the time did not permit of his undertaking this work. It was accordingly entrusted to Pandit Bhagvánlál. To help the Pandit forward in this work, Mr. Campbell had placed at the disposal of the Pandit the services of a young graduate of the Bombay University, Mr. Ratirám Durgárám Divedi, B.A., who had received excellent training in work of this kind in the office of the Compiler in connection with the compilation of the topographical and archeological portions of the volumes of the *Gazetteer*. The Government of H. E. Lord Reay, setting a high value upon the work, thought it desirable to give the Pandit every assistance towards making his history as complete as possible. In a Resolution, dated the 3rd January 1887, His Excellency in Council, considering that the value of isolated inscriptions is greatly enhanced by giving them their place in history, requested Collectors, Political Agents, and other officers in Gujarát to ascertain if any untranslated early copper-plate or stone inscriptions are in the possession of any States, religious institutions, or private persons within their charges, and induce the owners to produce such copper-plates or rubbings of the stone inscriptions and allow them to be forwarded for Pandit Bhagvánlál's use on promise of their being returned to the owners when done with. The Pandit himself was anxious to get through the work as early as possible, as would appear from his having made it a point to come to town from his residence at Wálkeshwar and to spend two or three hours every evening at his rooms regularly with Mr. Ratirám. In this way, I am told, he was

able to bring up three-fourths of the work in a condition well advanced for the press. The remainder, I am informed, is in the shape of notes in the Pandit's own handwriting, now in the possession of Mr. Karsandās Vallabhīdās, the executor of the Pandit's Will. Various causes seem to have delayed the appearance in print of this important work. The Pandit desired to be thorough, and in fulfilment of this desire every new inscription, copper-plate or stone, that he met with unhinged his mind for a time. This, added, as I said before, to a somewhat morbid presentiment in his own mind that his end was approaching, and, not improbably, the professional engagements of Mr. Ratirān himself, may have protracted the completion and publication of a work of which the appearance has been looked forward to with interest for some time past as embodying the mature results of the Pandit's lifelong study of Indian epigraphy. It is to be hoped that it will see the light at no distant date.

And now to sum up this account of the Pandit's labours and character. The place of Pandit Bhagvānlāl among Indian archeologists it is too early yet to discuss and determine. That the results of the Pandit's life-work have been such as to advance Indian epigraphy some steps further is a proposition the truth of which will, I am sure, go home to the mind of any person who takes an unbiassed view of the state of Indian archeology thirty-five years ago, when the Pandit received the slip of paper from Col. Lang, on which were written the cave characters, (into the mysteries of which he got himself initiated), and of our present stock of knowledge of Indian archeological remains to which he was a large contributor. It is not for a moment claimed that the Pandit's work was faultless. This could not be. His reading and interpretation of inscriptions have sometimes been questioned, and his views on many antiquarian topics still form points of controversy amongst scholars. Indian archeology is as much a progressive science as any other. One scholar improves upon the reading and interpretation of another, and in this way it is that advances are made. The two important steps in the progress of study of Indian epigraphy in my opinion, are,—(1) A careful decipherment and transcript of old characters, and (2) the adoption of those methods of interpreting historical evidence which, while allowing to analogies and comparisons their due weight, accept no interpretation which is not consonant with reason and good sense. That many of the Pandit's conjectures, bold as they appeared at first, turned out to be correct, was probably due to

these circumstances. He formed his opinions on antiquarian questions after mature thought, and having formed them he adhered to them with a zeal and tenacity which was in keeping with the importance of the subject he discussed. Another trait in his character was that, though as a worker in science he had to contend against many disadvantages, yet he fought his way to distinction in spite of them all by his energy, his courage, and his laborious and persevering devotion to research.

Nobody felt more keenly than the Pandit himself his defective early training, his imperfect acquaintance with English, and his inability to express himself in that language ; but such was the assiduity with which he mastered the points of each European scholar's views as they appeared in English that he would tell you how far they were, in his opinion, correct, and in what points he differed from them. In this way he kept himself thoroughly in accord with the progress made in Indian epigraphy in Europe, and had reached a point in his own study of it from which he was in a position to enlighten the world. His thorough, practical knowledge of cave characters at first hand was one of his strong points. On this account particularly he was constantly referred to by Dr. Burgess and Mr. Fleet in the work of deciphering characters in rock or copper-plate inscriptions which puzzled them. The Pandit's facility was doubtless due to long practice in work of this kind done in course of his travels in different parts of India. He had a genuine love for historical and geographical research. Each tour that he made, each visit that he paid, whetted his appetite for further information. In this way he saw almost all the noted caves, monasteries, old Hindu shrines, stupas, dagobas, in Eastern, Northern, and Western India, in Beluchistan, and on the borders of Thibet. He saw a great deal of the Indian world, peoples of many races, and of varieties of habits, customs and religions. These travels did for him what no amount of home-study could have done—they enlarged the vision of his mind, and enabled him to bring back a rich store of information and humorous anecdotes indicative of his insight into human nature. He was a conscientious worker, a true votary of science, an ardent lover of truth. He pursued knowledge under difficulties purely for its own sake, without regard to ulterior advantages. And he pursued it steadily, ardently, and with remarkable success. For the sake of knowledge he spent days and nights in lonely jungles, in caves, and monasteries, at times in the neighbourhood of the denizens of forests, regard-

less of heat or cold, hunger or thirst, comfort or discomfort. In this respect we may well apply to Bhagvānlāl the lines in which the lamented Matthew Arnold spoke of his father—the great Dr. Arnold:—

“ Languor is not on your heart,
Weakness is not in your word,
Weariness not on your brow,
Ye alight in our van! At your voice
Panic, despair, flee away.”

He was very simple in his habits and unaffected in his demeanour. One could scarcely believe that behind his humble exterior there lay high qualities of head and heart. He had very high ideas of the greatness of the human mind and of the righteousness of man's soul. On no mind perhaps had the force of example told more deeply. In short, he combined in himself the mildness and urbanity of a Hindu, with the steadiness, patience, and inquisitive spirit of a German, the ceaseless activity and energy of an Englishman, and the serenity and contemplative turn of mind of a Jain Tirthankar.

During his last illness he was visited by many of his friends, who appreciated his worth and his services to science. Such of his European friends who were not in Bombay wrote to him letters of sympathy on learning that he was ill. Mr. J. M. Campbell was one of them. I cannot close this Memoir better than by quoting a portion of his letter, which admirably sums up his character from a personal knowledge of the Pandit. “It is a sad thought,” says Mr. Campbell, writing to the Pandit on the 24th February, “that your life's work may be nearly over. The time and the money you have spent for so many years in healing the sick-poor will be of more comfort to you now than if you had been able to see in print the final results of all your labours. It is a great grief to me that so little should remain to show how much you knew. I am very sorry I have been of so little help to you in return for all the help you gave the *Gazetteer*. Had I been nearer or less busy I might have done something, but it was not easy for me to press or to upbraid, seeing the *Gazetteer* was to be the chief gainer by your labour. Mr. Bhimbhái has told me of his visit to you and of your handsome disposal of your valuable property. I am glad to understand your mind is clear and that you do not suffer much. He speaks of your courage and composure in preparing to die. Knowing how much of these qualities you had in your life, I cannot

doubt that they will comfort you in death. It is a grief to me to lose you. More even than for the help you have so often given me, I thank you for leaving with me the memory of so learned, original, and high-minded a friend."

P.S.—The following note (received six days after the above paper was read) from Dr. Codrington, late Honorary Secretary of this Society, a personal friend of the Pandit and a fellow-worker with him, describes the learned Doctor's recollections of the Pandit so well that I make no apology for quoting it in full as an appendix to this paper :—

"I did hear with the greatest regret of the death of my old friend, Bhagvánlál, but, knowing somewhat of his bodily condition, was not altogether unprepared for it. I do not know that I can add anything to what Dr. Peterson wrote about him in his notice in the *Academy*, which was, I thought, a very true and touching memoir of the man, bringing out the features which made his character so charming to me, and of his work I can add little to what is known. I knew Bhagvánlál very well, both in his own home as well as out of it, and more intimately than I knew any Indian gentleman, and was able to feel at home on equal terms with him. The simplicity of his life and of his honesty was such that I never felt I might, as an ignorant European, be doing or saying something which might be objectionable to his habits and feelings as an Indian, nor that he, from a similar feeling, would be uneasy with me, and this, I take it, is often the difficulty with us. I learnt from him something about all kinds of matters of India—history, manners and customs, ancient and modern—arts and manufactures, native medicine, religion and castes, besides that for which he was celebrated—archeology. He had a wonderful range of knowledge of modern things as well as ancient. We had many talks about religion, and he was perfectly open with me about his beliefs, which I see evidenced in his directions for his death and the disposal of his body. As a man he was remarkable to me for his simple and pure life, of which I had never any doubt, his freedom from greed in any way, and his charity. He had a considerable knowledge of native medicines, and used to have generally a number of sick to see him in the mornings. He had been failing in health a good deal during the last year or two I was in India, and his work was done, I know, under difficulties in that respect for years past. The difficulty of expressing

himself in any other language than Gujaráti quite freely (though his knowledge of English was much greater than many supposed) was a drawback; for he had difficulty in getting a translator with his own spirit—he often told me there was only one in Bombay—and was not able to readily read articles which were difficult to translate into his own language. In his work he was accurate and slow. I never knew him to jump at a reading of an inscription or coin, as one so often sees done, and he would work away at a point for a length of time, yet not publish it until he felt sure. I remember he had a name he found in some inscription, which he believed to be that of a Bactrian king; he struggled over it for years, to my knowledge, for I often handed up references about it, but as he was not able to confirm it, I believe he never made any note of it in his writings. He had, I know, offers of employment which would have given him considerable profit, but he would not take them. He had no wish for money nor luxuries, and when that house was given him in which he was just settling when I left Bombay, he had nothing in the way of bodily wants to wish for, he said, and his one luxury was the enjoyment of any appreciation of his work by scholars in Europe, which was slow in coming to him, but did come at last.

"I hope you and Mr. Peterson will be able to make a good deal of MSS. of his there may be. The paper on Kshatrap coins is what I am most interested in, and I trust it will not be mangled or misrepresented.—I am, &c.,

"OLIVER CODRINGTON.

"ARMY AND NAVY CLUB, PALL MALL.

London, S.W., May 10."

Dr. Peterson wrote to the *Academy* under date Bombay, March 23, 1888, as follows:—

Many readers of the *Academy* will be grieved to hear of the death of Pandit Bhagvánlál Indrají. He died on Friday last, March 16, at his house in Walkeshwur.

I have seen him from time to time during his last illness; and two days before his death I had the sad pleasure of paying him a visit along with M. Senart, to whom he was well known, and who, like everyone else who knew Bhagvánlál, held him in great regard and

affection. We had previously taken steps to learn if our visit then would be agreeable, and were met on the way by a note, dictated by the Pandit, pressing us to come. His bodily state, he said, was getting worse and worse, and we must come quickly. I was told afterwards that he hoped each step on the stair might be that of the distinguished scholar who was coming to him with news about the recent discovery of an Aśoka inscription. M. Senart will, I know, be glad that we did not yield to the fear we had that a visit at such a time might be out of place. Bhagvanlal rallied to greet his friend in a way none of those who were present will forget. It was too painfully obvious to all that the end was a matter of hours. But his eye kindled as he listened to all M. Senart had to tell him. The only murmur of impatience which escaped him was when he heard that his friend had been to Junagarh—"my native place"—and he not able to accompany him there. "I am so sorry, so sorry." He pressed my hand warmly when we took leave of him, and I was glad to feel sure that we had given him a moment's pleasure. His death was to himself a relief. "I am quite happy to go to God," were his words to me some days before. But more than one of your readers will feel with his friends here that the world is poorer to them now that so simple, so true, and so pure a soul has gone from it. A man greatly beloved, in whom was no guile. His body was burned the same evening in the Wal-keshwur burning ground close to his house. In a will, written shortly before his death, he had left directions which were for the most part faithfully carried out. All the ceremonies for the dying had been performed by himself in anticipation of death. They were not to be repeated now. When the end came near, earth, brought by himself from a holy place, was to be spread on the ground, and he was to be lifted from his bed and laid on it. His body was to be covered, up to the mouth, with the sacred sheet he had provided. The name of God was to be said repeatedly in his ear as he lay dying. When the breath was seen to be departing, the holy water he had brought from the Ganges was to be sprinkled over him, and a few drops put into his mouth. At the moment of death the sheet was to be drawn over his face and not again removed. Four friends were to carry him to the funeral pyre, and no weeping was to be made for him. Only the name of God was to be ever repeated. The women were not to come. When all was over his friends were to return to his house and disperse, first sitting together for a little time if they so

chose. He had no son or heir to take objection to the absence of the usual rites. Let his friends bethink them of the great sin they would commit if in any of these things they disregarded "the wishes of the previous owner of what would be then a worthless corpse." His caste people must not be allowed to interfere. The friend who should do his will were his true caste people. Bhagvanlal left the history of Guzerat he was writing for Mr. Campbell's Gazetteer unfinished, but he worked hard up to the last day or two to perfect the fragment he had commenced. He finished his account of the Kshatrap coins in his possession in the draft of a paper dictated by him in Guzerati, in which he has also given a full account of the lion pillar capital with its inscriptions in Bactrian Pali which he brought from Muttra. This paper will, in accordance with his wish, after it has been put in the form he would himself have given to it, be offered to the Royal Asiatic Society. His coins and inscriptions, including the Muttra one, are to be offered to the British Museum on terms which, I do not doubt, the authorities there will gladly agree to. His MSS. he has left to the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, asking only that they may be placed near the MSS. of the late Dr. Bhao Daji. I cannot yet say in what state his papers, other than that to which I have referred, have been left. But his friend and executor, Mr. Karsandas Valubhdas, has asked me to look over them, and I undertake that nothing which can be published shall be lost. I hope, at all events, that we shall be able to bring together in a volume all the published papers of the Pandit, alongside of those of his revered master and friend, Bhao Daji. Bhagvanlal, I know, would have wished for just such a memorial.

I hope I have not written at too great length for your columns. I have myself lost a dear friend in Bhagvanlal; and I know that the details I have given will have a melancholy interest for a wide circle of scholars. They will join me in bidding him a last farewell—nay, rather, in the words with which we parted, *Punar darsanāya* ("Auf wiedersehn!")

Count Gubernatis, the Italian savant, recounts his visit to Pandit Bhagvanlal in his work as under:—

"From Malabar Hill we went to Wālkeshwar, where lived a learned and holy Brahmin, Dr. Bhagvanlal Indrajī, a native of Joonagur, in Kathiawār. I knew him to be a great authority on epigraphic and numismatic matters. I knew also that his work, done with the greatest modesty and disinterestedness, had been a precious help to

many English, German, and Dutch Orientalists, and that the University of Leyden, had, *honoris causá*, received him into the fold of her members. He had been so kind as to inquire about me at Dr. da Cunha's, as soon as I arrived at Bombay, and I was impatient to meet this truly learned Indian. I was very glad to visit the holy city of Wálkeshwar while going to his modest dwelling, the expenses of which, I heard with great pleasure, had been defrayed by his fellow citizens of Joonagur as a token of respect to his knowledge.

* * * * *

"I entered at last the modest little house of the venerable Bhagvánlál. He was waiting for us on the threshold, and his young and intelligent servant, of the pure Bráhma caste, on the staircase. Knowing that I was curious to see sacred Indian objects, he had prepared for me on a table a little exhibition. This included sacred strings, rosaries, small idols, and little books with tiny images of the gods. The last-mentioned, especially, attracted my attention, on account of their smallness. Bhagvánlál explained that when the Mahomedan fanatics destroyed gigantic statues and colossal idols, the Hindus determined to substitute these by very small idols and images, to keep their gods more easily from persecution and destruction. Bhagvánlál, after having let me admire an ancient Buddhist manuscript of Nepál, and some beautiful sculpture belonging to him, which he intended giving after his death to the Asiatic Society of Bombay, presented me with many rare articles for my museum." * * * * *

ART. IV.—*Nyāyabīndhūṭikā of Dharmottara.* By PETER
PETERSON, M.A., D.Sc., etc.

Read 25th February 1869.

The first of the four manuscripts which I wish to show to the Society to-day belongs to the palm-leaf collection preserved in the temple of Santinath, Cambay. An account of its discovery will be found in my Third Report, p. 33. It is dated Samvat 1229 = A D. 1173, and is therefore itself more than seven hundred years old. It purports, according to the statement in the colophon, to contain a copy of a commentary (ṭīkā) on a work entitled the Nyāyabindu, or "Drop of Logic," and to be the work of one Dharmottara. Dharmottara's very name had as good as perished in his own country. But from the Tibetan "Tandjur" it was known to European scholars that a teacher so called had been illustrious in Buddhist annals, as perhaps the founder, certainly a great professor, of the Sautrāntika School. The Tandjur is, as you know, a compilation in Tibetan of all sorts of literary works, written mostly by ancient Indian Pandits and some learned Tibetans in the first centuries after the introduction of Buddhism into Tibet, commencing with the seventh century of our era. The whole makes 225 volumes. Now the Tandjur, according to a statement of the Russian scholar, Wassiljew, contains among seven works ascribed to Dharmottara one whose title is *Nyāyabīndhūṭikā*. But the Sanskrit book before you calls itself the Nyāyabīndhūṭikā of the Acharya Dharmottara. In other words, it is the lost Sanskrit original of the Tibetan book.

The interest attaching to such a discovery will be obvious. I was anxious to publish a book which, in its Sanskrit and original form, had so narrowly escaped oblivion. Observing from the annual address of the President of the parent society in Calcutta that it was proposed to publish there some of these Tibetan texts side by side with their Sanskrit originals, where these were procurable, I offered to edit the Sanskrit Nyāyabīndhūṭikā from this manuscript. The offer was accepted, and the book has made some progress, though it has not yet I am sorry to say, been found possible to dig the Tibetan text of the

work out of the 225 volumes somewhere in which it lies entombed. The absence of a copy of the text of the book, of the Nyāyabindu itself, on which this is a commentary, has given me great trouble. It has been necessary to reconstruct the text from the commentary on it, an embarrassing and sometimes an impossible task. My excuse for offering to-night a few remarks on this book and its fortunes lies in the way in which this difficulty has within the last day or two been made to disappear. I am not sure that I ought not to be a little ashamed of the fact, but it is the fact that a copy of the much wanted Nyāyabindu has been all the time in my own charge as Secretary of the Society. For the second manuscript, which I lay on the table, is from our own Bhau Daji Memorial Collection. The work is here called the Laghu-Dharmottara-Sutra. But an examination has shown that it is neither more nor less than the Nyāyabindu. The same collection has a copy of the commentary, here called the Laghu-Dharmottara-Vritti. I lay it on the table. In reviewing my Third Report, Dr. Bühler was disposed to think that my Nyāyabinduṭīkā of Dharmottara must be identical with a Dharmottara-Vritti which he saw in Jesalmir, and of which he had a copy made for the Bombay Government Collection. I have that copy here. It is not Dharmottara's book, but a commentary upon that by a writer whose name is not given here. For this last book is a mere fragment, extending only to page 20 of the printed edition of the Nyāyabinduṭīkā in progress, and dealing only with the first and by far the shortest of the three chapters into which that work is divided. I hope to show that from the specimen we have, it is certain that this last book is full of information which would be of the greatest value to us. Indeed, my chief object in this brief paper is to call attention to the importance of this series of books, in the hope that more copies of all of them may become available.

Dharmottara nowhere refers to his author, the writer of the Sutras, on which he is commenting, by any other name than that of the Acharya, or teacher. There can be little doubt what teacher is meant. It is Buddha himself. Brahminical and Buddhist authorities agree in stating that in the beginning there were four great Buddhist sects—the Vaibhāṣika, the Sautrāntika, the Mādhyamika, and the Yogācāra. Of these, the first two were the earlier, and together formed what is called the Lesser Vehicle. Little is yet known of the distinctive tenets of the Sautrāntika School. They are said to have fallen into two divi-

sions—those who rejected every other appeal than that to the word of the master, and those who, besides a reference to the canon, admitted other proofs. The whole Sautrāntika School which, with the Vaibhāshika, shares the merit of being comparatively free from the philosophical and mythological absurdities of later Buddhism, were, as the name shows, Buddhists of the Book, to borrow a phrase from another great controversy. To the Sutra, at once the Law and the Prophets for them, they appealed. Their controversy with the Vaibhāshika School would seem to have turned on the way in which these latter had permitted the pure text of the scriptures to be pushed aside by commentators on it. Now the philosophical works of the Vaibhāshika School, the so-called Abhidharma section of the Tripiṭaka, are, according to the commentators, not the direct utterances of the Buddha, but expansions of these by later authors. The name Sutra is in them applied to the original writings ascribed to Buddha in a closer sense than the Abhidharma Piṭaka is. But these Sutras had with this school almost completely given place to the commentaries upon them. The Buddhists of the Book, the Sautrāntika or Sutra-School, went back to the oldest sources for their canon. We accordingly are prepared beforehand to find that Dharmottara, whether rightly or wrongly, is, of course, a question by itself, took the Sutras on “right knowledge,” of which he here gives us a commentary, to be the composition of Buddha himself. For it is in this light that I am disposed to understand the verse which, according to Indian pious use, he puts at the beginning of his book :—

“Hail to the words of Buddha, the conqueror over the world—
the cause of all the evils of life—the enemy of the passions; Hail
to his words that destroy the darkness of our souls.”

Among the words of Buddha held in reverence by Dharmottara were these very Sutras which he is about to explain.

From the anonymous commentator we learn that Dharmottara had several predecessors in this task. One of these was Vinītadeva. Of this man, as a Buddhist writer on logic, we know something from Tibetan sources. Taranath's History of Buddhism is a Tibetan work which was composed so late as 1608, but which rests upon older and, in part, Sanskrit authorities. It has been translated into Russian by Wassiliew, and into German by Anton Schiefner. The latter scholar has also published the Tibetan text. Taranath's book contains two references to Vinītadeva. In the first (p. 198 of the German transla-

tion) it is stated that the Acharya Vinītadeva lived in Sri Nalanda in the time of King Govichandra. Govichandra was a nephew of Bhartrihari, and his accession coincided with the death of Dharmakīrti, another famous Buddhist logician, of whom I shall have to speak immediately. Of Vinītadeva it is said that he composed a commentary in seven chapters on the Pramāna. This is an extremely important statement. There can, I believe, be no doubt that the work referred to is that quoted as an authority on Nyāya earlier than Dharmottara, in the Jesalmir fragment before the Society. Pramāna or Proof is the beginning and end of the subject-matter of our Sūtras. Now Strabo (xv. l. 70, p. 719 : quoted in Lassen, *Ind. Alth.* I. p. 1002) has preserved a passage of Megasthenes, from which we learn that the Brahmins were opposed by a sect called Pramnai : " Over against the Brahmins as philosophers they set the Pramnas, a school of sophistical dialecticians. The Brahmins, on the other hand, cultivate physiology and astronomy, and are laughed at by these others as swaggering blockheads." Lassen conjectured that the reference must be to a school of the Purvamimamsa, as founding their belief on Pramāna, logical proof, instead of revelation. From this title of Vinītadeva's book, and other similar titles, which we shall meet with immediately, it seems to me more likely that Megasthenes was talking of the Buddhists. Taranath's other reference to Vinītadeva consists of an extract from a work of his called Samajabhedaparachchanachchakra. I am unable to make Sanskrit of this name. The extract gives an account of the division of the Buddhist schools into eighteen.

In two places the Jesalmir fragment the name of a second commentator is put alongside of Vinītadeva's name in one compound word. But whereas Śāntabhadra is written in the one place, Śāntarudra is written in the other. It is, of course, possible that we are dealing here with two different writers : but from the way in which, as has been explained, the name occurs, it seems more probable that the scribe is in fault in one or other place. It may turn out that he is in fault in both places. For while nothing appears to be known either of a Śāntabhadra or of a Śāntarudra, Sanghabhadra is well known as a Buddhist writer on logic, whose work, the Nyāyānusārasāstra, a refutation of Vasubhandu's Abhidharmakosha, forms part of the Chinese Tripitaka, the translation being by no other than Houen Thsang himself.

The third of Dharmottara's predecessors is in the Jesalmir fragment not referred to by name, but only as the author of the commentary (that

is to say, of course on our Sūtras), called the Vinischaya. The name enables us, I think, to identify him with a Buddhist poet and logician of no common note—Dharmakīrti. This writer, more fortunate than the others we have been considering, is still something more than the shadow of a name in the land of his birth. The anthologies have preserved several of his verses. In the preface to our edition of Vallabhadeva's Subhashitavali Durga Prasad and I have brought these together. Aufrecht had already written of Dharmakīrti:—"He is one of the oldest writers on Alamkāra. His work Baudhasamgati is mentioned by Subandhu in the Vasavadatta (p. 235 ed., Hall). In all probability he is identical with the Buddhist philosopher of the same name who, according to Wassiliew, wrote a commentary to Dinuaga's Prāmanasamuchaya, as also the works Prāmanavarttika, *Prāmānaviniśchaya*, and Prasannapāda. A half verse by the philosophical writer is mentioned in the Baudha chapter of the Sarvādarsanasangraha. Verses by Dharmakīrti are cited by Anandavardhana in the Dhvanyaloka, the Saṃgadharapaddhati contains one, the Sadakūṭikānamrita eight."

There can be, I think, little doubt that Dharmakīrti's book, the Prāmānaviniśchaya, must be the "commentary, called Vinischaya" of our writer. Schiefner mentions in a note that the Tibetan Tāndjur puts together Dharmakīrti's Prāmānavārtikakārika and his Prāmānaviniśchaya, the one in four chapters, and the other in three. This last agrees with our book. You will remember that Vinītadeva's work was said to be in seven chapters. It looks as if, in addition to our Sūtra in three chapters, there was another in four, which was generally taken along with it. Vinītadeva, and Dharmakīrti wrote commentaries on both texts. It may turn out that Dharmottara did so also. We should then understand the title of the Bhau Daji Manuscript Laghu Dharmottaraoritti. Another work in four chapters was perhaps the Brihat Dharmottara Sūtra. Dinnāga, or Dignāga, mentioned here as the author of a compendium of logic (Prāmānasamuchaya), to which Dharmakīrti wrote a commentary, is a well-known name to us now. See Max Müller's references in the Note on the Renaissance of Sanskrit Literature to his "India; What can it teach us?" It was our own Dr. Bhau Daji who first pointed out that Kalidasa in his Meghadata refers to Dignāga as a contemporary. In the Jesalmir fragment there is an interesting reference to Kumarila's critique of Dignāga. The writer asserts that when Kumarila rejects mental perception as that had been established from the scriptures

(âgamasiddham) by Dignâga, it was because he did not understand Dignâga's definition.

I have not attempted to do more in this paper than call the attention of the Society to the interest attaching to the books on the table. It will not be denied that it is very great. The re-discovery of Dharmottara's book will enable us to pay a debt to a man who in his own time did much for truth and science, and who has been undeservedly forgotten in India. From the Sûtras themselves it ought to be possible to reconstruct the science of proof, as understood by Buddhist thinkers, on the basis of a text for which we need not fear to claim a high antiquity. The Jesalmir manuscript again is clearly the fragment of a work which, if we could recover it in its entirety, would teach us much of the philosophical controversies with which India rang in the early centuries of our era. But, above all, I confess, am I fascinated by the fact that in this palm-leaf manuscript, which has lain concealed for centuries in its tomb below the temple of Santinath in Cambay, and has now been dragged to the light by an English servant of the Indian State, you have in your hands the work of an Indian author whose name, and the title of whose book, were first discovered by a member of the Russian Legation at Peking, while engaged in studying the Buddhist literature of Tibet. I would fain take this as an omen that much will yet be done by the study of the Tibetan, Chinese, and Mongolian literatures on the one hand, and the diligent search after lost Sanskrit originals on the other, to fill up the woful gaps in our knowledge of the wonderful past of this great country. We in this Society ought, I think, to be heartily glad that the Parent Society is making its present effort to utilize the rich treasures it owes to Csoma Kôrosi and to Hodgson. Those of us to whom a kind fate has opened the scholar's life could not easily find better work than that to which the two Societies may confidently invite the learned of this country.

ART. V.—*M. Dellon and the Inquisition of Goa.* BY
DR. J. GERSON DA CUNHA.

Read December 18th, 1888.

M. Dellon was a French physician and traveller, born in 1649. Having entered the service of the French East India Company, he embarked as a surgeon on board the ship "Strong," of 400 tons, commanded by Captain Merchand, accompanied by the *Golden Eagle*, and left Port Louis for the East Indies on the 20th of March 1668. From 1671 to 1672 he ran down the Malabar Coast to Cannanore. On return to Surat he thought of visiting the Portuguese Settlements as far as China, and for this purpose he went first to Damaun and then to Goa. He stayed in Goa from January 14th, 1674, to January 27th, 1676, when he left for Lisbon *viâ* Brazil. He arrived at St. Salvador at the Bahia on the 20th of May, and at Lisbon on the 15th of December of the same year, having left Brazil on the 3rd of September. After some months he returned to his native country, and arrived at Bayonne on the 16th of August 1677. He practised as a physician until 1685, when he went to Hungary with the Princes de Conti as their physician. From that date nobody knows what became of him. There are two works written, or said to have been written, by him. First "*Relation d'un Voyage fait aux Indes Orientales.*" Paris 1685, 2 vols; in 12mo. This work was reprinted in Amsterdam in 1699, and translated into English in 1698, as "*A Voyage to the East Indies.*" The second is "*Relation de l'Inquisition de Goa.*" Leyden, 1687, in 12mo., Paris, 1688, in 12mo. There are later editions of these works, such as those of 1709, 1711, and 1719, with additions and corrections of various kinds, but I need not describe them here. And there are translations also of these works in several European languages, but it is unnecessary to speak of them here in detail.

According to the first work, "*A Voyage to the East Indies,*" published in 1685, the author embarked at Port Louis in Brittany on the 20th March 1668 on board a ship belonging to the *Compagnie Royale des Indes*; on the 30th of April following he touched at the Cape Verd Islands; on the 3rd of September at the Isle of Bourbon; and on the 30th of the same month at Madagascar. From this place he went on board another ship to the Persian Gulf to bring back the servants

of the factories of the French East India Company in Persia, which were being given up by that Company, and having returned to Madagascar, he finally left that island for India on the 12th of August 1669. On the 21st of September he arrived at Surat, where he remained until January 1670. During this month he went down the Malabar Coast to Mirzeo, in the Kingdom of Bijapore, and then to Tilsary (Tellicherry), Tanor, and Batiepatan (Negapatam) in the service of the same Company. In the month of January 1672 he went to Goa, but he left it again on the 6th of February following, and then went again to the Persian Gulf to convoy the ship St. Francis from thence to Surat. On his way back to Surat, being "continually pestered," as he writes, "with contrary winds" he passed on the 6th of January 1673 within sight of Diu. After the wind blowing a favourable gale from the north-east he came within sight of the shore near Bassein on the 10th, and on the 12th he came to Bombay. "Just at the entrance of the port of Bombay," he says, "there lies a rock, which stretching a mile deep into the sea, makes this passage very dangerous; for which reason we sent for some pilots, who conducted us safely on the 12th into that harbour, which is one of the safest in the world, provided you are well acquainted with the situation of the place to avoid the rocks." "It was not many years ago in the possession of the Portuguese, who surrendered it to the English at the time of the marriage betwixt the King of England with the Infanta of Portugal. The English have since that time built there a very fine fort, where the president of the East India Company commonly keeps residence. They have also laid the foundation of a city, where they grant liberty to all strangers, of what religion or nation soever, to settle themselves, and exempt them from all manner of taxes for the first twenty years. We were treated here with abundance of civility, which are in fact attributed to the good understanding there was at that time betwixt these two nations." The above extract from the rare translation into English of the travels of Dellon, made in 1698, is one of the earliest references to Bombay after it came into the possession of the English, and I give it here only parenthetically, as it does not bear on the subject in question. Having left Bombay on the 30th of January 1673, our author arrived at Surat two days after. He then says that his "chief design being to visit, after his departure from Surat, all the places in the possession of the Portuguese on that coast as far as Goa, and from thence to travel as far as Bengal," he obtained some letters of recommendation

and went to Damaun on the 3rd of March by land. Here he met with two of his countrymen, *Sieur De St. James*, son of a French physician, and another, both of them married there, and, being introduced to the Governor of that city, was requested by the latter to stay there and practise as a physician. He did so, but after some months he changed his mind, for he writes: "For though I must confess that I received all the kind usage I could expect from the inhabitants of this place, yet the natural propensity I had to travel and to make curious and new observations abroad overbalancing all other considerations, I did, at last, resolve to leave Damaun. Pursuant to this resolution I took the conveniency of the Portuguese fleet, which goes every year to Cambay. This fleet being under the command of *Joseph de Mello*, arrives at Damaun towards the latter end of December, and was to be ready to sail for Goa towards the beginning of January. All my friends at Damaun having in vain endeavoured to detain me longer, I took at last my leave of them and embarked myself upon one of the galleons belonging to the abovementioned fleet." There is not a word here about his having been made a prisoner of the Inquisition by the Commissary of the town. He then set sail on the 1st of January 1674, arriving at Bassein the next day in the afternoon, and went to the town, when he met with another of his countrymen, *Sieur de Segvineau*, a physician, who had married and settled there. He stayed at Bassein five or six days, and then set sail for Goa, where he arrived on the 14th of January towards night. "I went on shore," he writes, "the next day, and by the advantageous offers made by my friends, was prevailed upon to stay near three whole years in this great city, of which I have given you a description before. After this, some affairs of moment happening, which required my presence in my native country, I was obliged to quit the Indies in order to take my speedy return to Europe. I took, therefore, the conveniency of a Portuguese galleon, which, being ready to sail for Lisbon, I, with the permission of the Governor, embarked myself in the said vessel towards the latter end of January." This was in 1676; but there is not a word here again about the Inquisition. He touched at the Bahia in Brazil on the 20th of May following, on his way back to Europe, and after staying there a few months he set sail for Lisbon on the 3rd of September, arriving there on the 15th of December. He stayed six months in Lisbon "to satisfy his curiosity," as he writes, "in taking a full view of this large and beautiful city," and then left

he continues, "did not content herself with sending me what was necessary for me, but I received from her every day enough of food for four persons." This is highly improbable, for such was the horror the whole Catholic population had for the prisoners of the Inquisition, that nobody would ever dare offer any food or even consolation to them. But the writer continues: "This was not so with other prisoners. There being no subsistence allowed them at Damaun, the magistrate provided for them from the charity of any one who might please to help them . . . but there were wretches in the other apartment, separated from me only by a wall, who were pressed with hunger, to the point of subsisting on their own excrement. I learned on this occasion that some years before, about fifty Malabar corsairs being taken and shut up in this prison, the horrible hunger that they suffered drove more than forty of them to strangle themselves with their own turbans." I think this is also improbable. Our author's arrest took place on the 29th of August 1673. If he had been sent at once to Goa, he might have been tried, he says, and got out of prison, three months after, at the *auto da fé* in December, but this would not have suited the plans of his enemies. Thus, after an incarceration of about four months, Dellon with his fellow-heretics was shipped off for the metropolis of Portuguese India, touching on the way at Bassein, where the prisoners were transferred for some days to the prison of the town. There a large number of persons were kept in custody under charge of the Commissary of the Holy Office, waiting for a vessel to take them to Goa.

This account, it will be noted, is quite different from that of the other work before mentioned. But to continue. It was not until the 7th day of the following month, i.e., January 1674, that all the prisoners, heavily ironed, were sent to Goa. They landed there on the 14th of January, and until they could be deposited in the cells of the Inquisition they were sent to the *Aljube*, or ecclesiastical prison, which he describes thus:—"The most filthy, the most dark, and the most horrible of all that I ever saw; and I doubt whether a more shocking and horrible prison can anywhere be found. It is a kind of cave, wherein there is no day seen but by a very little hole. The most subtle rays of the sun cannot enter into it, and there is never any true light in it. The stench is extreme, because there is but a dry well to the level of the ground, and no channel or drain for the use of the prisoners." The ecclesiastical prison in Goa was from other accounts

quite different from all this, and in spite of the promiscuous crowd of delinquents, according to the writer, and the colonial barbarism of the 17th century, I think the *Aljube* was a far more decent place, being destined only for priests. On the 16th of January, 1674, at 7 o'clock in the morning, an officer came with orders to take the prisoners to the Holy House. M. Dellon dragged his iron-loaded limbs thither with great difficulty. The officer helped him to mount the steps at the great entrance, and in the great hall smiths were waiting to take off the irons from all the prisoners. He was then brought into the august presence of the Grand Inquisitor. Here M. Dellon's bearing was not particularly dignified, nor worthy of a Frenchman and a physician. He threw himself on his knees before his judge, wept bitterly, and declared his willingness to make a full confession. He then describes the room called "Board of the Holy Office," where the Grand Inquisitor of the Indies sat. He is said to have been a secular priest, about forty years of age, in full vigour, a man that could do his work with energy. At one end of the room there was a large crucifix reaching from the floor almost to the ceiling. Even in this description there is palpable exaggeration. When the Inquisition was abolished, and the whole property taken possession of by the State only two crucifixes were found, and both of them are preserved to this day, as well as the Inquisitorial chair, as curious and venerable relics. Both of these crucifixes, which I have seen, can scarcely exceed six feet in height, and M. Dellon says that one of them at least reached from the floor almost to the ceiling in a building, whose rooms were the loftiest in the old city of Goa, and which he describes as "great and magnificent."

But to return once more to this narrative. After having had two audiences with the Inquisitor his heart sickened, and in a frenzy of despair he determined to commit suicide. "On my return from this second audience," our author writes, "I abandoned myself wholly to grief, seeing that there were required of me things which seemed to me impossible, since my memory suggested nothing of what I was required to confess. I attempted then to starve myself to death. I took, indeed, the provisions that were brought to me, because I could not refuse them without subjecting myself to be caned by the guards, who are very careful to observe, when they get back the plates, whether the prisoners have eaten enough to maintain them. But my despair found means to deceive them. I passed whole days without eating

anything, and in order that they might not notice it, I threw into the basin a part of what had been brought me." But this fasting and mortification had not the desired effect. So he thought of something else more efficient to put an end to his life. I must detail it again at length:—"I feigned to be sick," he writes, "and to have fever. Immediately a pandit, or native doctor, was brought, who from the throbbing of my pulse, through excitement, did not doubt that it was a real fever. He ordered bleeding, which was repeated five times in as many days, and as my intention in submitting to this remedy was very different from that of the doctor, who was labouring to restore my health, while I only desired to end my sad and miserable life, as soon as the people were withdrawn, and my door was shut, I untied the bandage, and let the blood run long enough to fill up a cup, containing at least eighteen ounces. I repeated this process as often as I was bled; and as I took almost no nourishment, it is not difficult to judge that I was reduced to extreme weakness." As he had already reduced himself to a state of extreme weakness by trying to starve himself to death, it is rather difficult to conceive that a doctor, although a pandit, should have thought expedient, under such circumstances, to recommend depletion, not once, but five times. But, as according to this strange narrative, both the starvation and the profuse bleeding he had inflicted on himself had not the desired effect, he thought by an effort of desperate ingenuity of committing suicide by another means. He remembered, he tells us, that when his effects were taken from him, he had managed to retain a few gold pieces of money, which he had previously sewed into a ribbon, and tied round his leg like a garter under his stocking. Taking one of these coins, and breaking it in two, he ground one of the halves on an earthen pot, until he made it fit to do duty as a lancet. With this he tried to open the arteries of his arm. In this he did not succeed, but he opened the veins in both arms." This statement is also highly incredible, coming, as it is supposed to be, from a medical man. But to continue. He was found by a jailor weltering in his blood and insensible. Having restored him by cordials and bound up the wounds he had inflicted on himself, they carried him into the presence of the Inquisitor once more. They gave him bitter reproaches, ordered his limbs to be confined in irons; but in fetters he became so furious that they found it necessary to take them off. I must note here again, that after starvation and bleeding the use of fetters seems quite superfluous. But now our prisoner is

said to have assumed quite a new character. He defended his position with citations from the Council of Trent, and with passages of Scripture, which confounded the Grand Inquisitor, who is said to have been an ignorant person. But to cut this long narrative short, it was after about two years and a half from his first arrest, in July, 1673, that he was brought to a fourth audience, and on the 12th of January, 1677, the *auto da fé* was celebrated, when, dressed with *sambenito*, (scapular), grey *samarra*, with painted flames and devils, and *carocha* (cap) with a taper in his hand, he was marched off in a grand procession to the church of the Franciscans, where sentence was passed on him. He was excommunicated, his effects confiscated, and himself banished from India, and condemned to serve in the galleys of Portugal for five years, and further to undergo such penances as the Inquisition should prescribe. The subsequent history of M. Dellon is a short one. About a fortnight after the *auto da fé* he was ironed and taken on board-ship, and made over to the charge of the captain, who was ordered to deliver him over to the Inquisition at Lisbon. When the ship arrived at Brazil, he was put into prison there. After a short stay here he re-embarked and reached Lisbon on the 18th December. After working in a gang of convicts for some time as a galley-slave in the dockyard, he was, through the intercession of his friends, released on the 1st of June 1677. After some difficulties he found money to procure a passage in a vessel bound for France, and after a lapse of four years he set about the composition of his narrative, which he kept four years longer before he could make up his mind to publish it.

Such is a brief summary of this strange narrative, which, improbable as it seems on the face of its own statements, when compared with the previous work of the same author, becomes entirely contradictory. Still it has been quoted from, translated, and believed in as the genuine work of a prisoner of the Inquisition. Dr. Rule, and a writer in the *Calcutta Review* for 1857, among others, take the work to be trustworthy, for reasons which are not very convincing. I shall briefly deal with each of these arguments separately. The writer in the *Calcutta Review* accounts for the delay in the publication of this narrative of the Inquisition by the solemn oath the author had taken that he should not disclose the secrets of the prison until, later on, he found motives for justifying his breach of the enforced oath. Now that there was no such cause for the delay is evident from the allusion M. Dellon makes to the Inquisition in his first work, "The Voyage to

the East Indies." In chapter 16, "On Different Religions," he writes:—"The severity of the Inquisition established in all places under the obedience of the King of Portugal, Holy by its name, but so terrible in its consequences, serves for nothing else than to alienate the infidels from the Christian Church!"—p. 43. Elsewhere he writes: "Just opposite to the Cathedral, in a great square, stands that famous house whose very name makes many thousands tremble in these parts: this is the Court of Inquisition,"—p. 161. Of the *Aljube*, where he is said to have been imprisoned, in the narrative, for one night, he simply says in his travels:—"Not far from this you see the prison, called *Aljube*, where nobody is committed but upon the account of ecclesiastical concerns"—Another reason adduced by the writer in the *Calcutta Review* for not doubting the perfect accuracy of the narrative is that, not only an air of truthfulness pervades it but almost a perfect coincidence between the course of procedure represented to have been followed with the rules laid down for the guidance of the courts of the Inquisition in Spain. These rules had been kept secret until they were published in Llorente's "History of the Inquisition" in that country. They could not, therefore, have been known to our author, who wrote more than 100 years earlier, yet the treatment which he represents himself as having experienced, is, even to the most minute particulars, that which is prescribed in these rules for the treatment of persons accused as he was." It is, indeed, this air of truthfulness that pervades the narrative that has hitherto deceived most people, although not the Roman Curia, which placed this work on the Index for more than one reason by its decree, dated the 17th of December 1769. But although Llorente's *Historia Critica de la Inquisicion de Espana* was not published until 1812, there were earlier works on the subject, such as that of the Abbé Marsollier in French, and that of Philip van Limborch in Latin, published in the 17th century. Here the writer of this spurious narrative might have found all the details of, and other particular minutiae prescribed in, the rules for the treatment of the prisoners of the Inquisition. Then Dr. Claudius Buchanan in his *Christian Researches* says that he showed this work to the Grand Inquisitor in his time, by name *José das Doreas*, whose name, however, he changes into Joseph A' Doloribus, and, although when the Inquisitor read it, he is said to have twice exclaimed, *Menducium, Mendacium*, still he thinks he admitted the geueal accuracy of the statements. Then there were

Frenchmen at the time in India, and Dellon himself speaks of them in Damaun, Bassein, and Goa, where he says, "The first thing we did after our arrival at Goa was to visit Father Cornelius, St. Cyprian, Prior of the bare-footed Carmelites, who, being our countryman, showed us all the respect and civility in the world. The day after we went to see M. Martin, a rich French merchant, with whom we stayed three days." Still it appears strange that the friends of M. Dellon, if he was at all a prisoner of the Inquisition, were not so active as they might have been in procuring his deliverance, and it does not appear that the French Government ever made his case a subject of reclamation. Then the topographical and other local details, which impart to the work an air of trustworthiness, might have been easily copied from travellers who had preceded Dellon and had their works on Portuguese India published in more than one language, such as Linschoten, Pyrard de Laval, Tavernier, and others. For all these reasons I think the narrative which goes by the name of M. Dellon is a fabrication, a forgery, a fraud, although based on his genuine travels. If I were to recapitulate all the arguments, to doubt its fidelity or to repudiate its authenticity, it would take much time, which, unfortunately, I cannot spare. I shall be glad, however, if this humble contribution as a protest against the truthfulness of a work that has deceived several generations of scholars will invite the attention of other students of Indian history to the true character of the work. My denial of the authenticity of the work does not certainly imply the defence of the Inquisition, which I have elsewhere qualified in the manner it ought to be by every liberal-minded man, whether a Catholic or Protestant. My object is evident to you all. It is entirely of an historical and not of a religious character. And at the same time to liberate, if necessary, the memory of M. Dellon from the suspicion of being an impostor, for I believe the work was written and published by somebody unknown to us after his death. For if we all owe every regard to the living, we owe but the truth to the dead, or to put it in Voltaire's words:—

On doit des égards aux vivants; on ne doit aux morts que la vérité.

ART. VI.—*Pūrṇavarma and Śankarāchārya.* BY THE
HON. KĀSHINĀTH TRIMBAK TELANG.

Read March 19th 1889.

In 1884 I contributed to the pages of the *Indian Antiquary*, ⁽¹⁾ a paper in which I endeavoured to prove that our eminent philosopher, Śankarāchārya, flourished in the reign of Pūrṇavarma, who is mentioned as a King of Mrgadha, by the famous Chinese traveller, Hiuen Tshang. I further pointed out certain circumstances from which I deduced the conclusion, that Pūrṇavarma must have reigned at the latest, about the close of the sixth century of the Christian era and that Śankarāchārya must therefore be assigned to about that date. In 1887 my friend, Mr. S. P. Pandit, in a note to the very elaborate introduction which he has prefixed to his edition of the *Gauḍavaho* for our Bombay Series of Sanskrit Classics, accepting and further supporting my view about the contemporaneous existence of Śankarāchārya and Pūrṇavarman, impugned the correctness of the date which I had assigned to them. ⁽²⁾ At the time I wrote my paper, I was unable to make such use as I desired of the writings of Hiuen Tshang, and was obliged to trust to the information supplied by a few paragraphs selected out of Julien's Hiuen Tshang, which my honourable and learned friend, Mr. P. M. Mehta, was good enough to interpret to me. Soon after my paper was published, the Rev. Mr. S. Beal's Translation of the *Si-Yu-Ki—Buddhist Records of the Western World*—was issued by Trübner, but as the same distinguished scholar's Life of Hiuen Tshang was then also announced, I thought it best to hold over the further examination of the dates of Pūrṇavarma and Śankarāchārya, which I wished to institute, until the latter work became available. It has now reached Bombay, having been received in our library in the beginning of this month. ⁽³⁾ And I propose on the

¹ The paper is also published in my *Mudrārāksha* (Bombay Series, Sanskrit Classics).

² See pp. 209-225.

³ This paper was commenced to be written in February.

present occasion to consider the data supplied by Mr. Beal's three valuable volumes in relation to the date of Pūrṇavarma, and in the light of those data to review my own previous conclusions as well as the criticisms made upon them by Mr. Pandit.

I do not wish on this occasion to do much more than discuss the question as regards Pūrṇavarma. As regards Śankarāchārya, I have no further facts to adduce at present, and therefore I will content myself with saying, that Mr. Pandit's note above referred to has not taken account of the argument based by me upon the Chinese translation of Gauḍapāda's Kārikās, "made during the Ch'en dynasty, which ruled from 557 to 583 A.D." (*).

The passages in Hiuen Tshang, then, bearing upon the question to which this paper is limited fall into two groups—the one including all passages referring to Pūrṇavarma himself, the other including those which refer to Śaśānka, King of Karmasuvarṇa, who is stated to have been a contemporary of Pūrṇavarma. It will be convenient at the outset to collect the passages in the first group, before considering what light they throw upon the point in controversy. That point, it is to be remembered, is this—How long did Pūrṇavarma flourish before the visit to India of Hiuen Tshang, from whose biography and narrative these passages are extracted? Taking, first, the *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, the first passage we meet with about Pūrṇavarma runs as follows in Mr. Beal's Translation. After mentioning the destruction and restoration of the great Bodhi tree at Buddha Gayā, in the time of King Aśoka, and its second destruction "in late times" by Śaśānka-rāja, Hiuen Tshang goes on to say (I):—"Some months afterwards, the king of Magadha, called Pūrṇavarma, the last of the race of Aśoka-rāja, hearing of it, sighed and said, 'The sun of wisdom having set, nothing is left but the tree of Buddha; and this they now have destroyed, what source of spiritual life is there now?' He then cast his body on the ground overcome with pity, then with the milk of a thousand cows, he again bathed the roots of the tree, and in a night it once more revived and grew to the height of 10 feet. Fearing lest it should be again cut

* I had not noticed before that this must be the work referred to by Prof. M. Müller (*India; What it can teach us*, pp. 360-1), I observe that a Nepāl tradition mentioned by the late lamented Pandit Bhagvānlāl makes Śankarāchārya visit Nepāl and "destroy the Buddha faith" in the reign of Krishnadeva Varma who according to Bhagvānlāl's dates, flourished about 260 A.D.

down, he surrounded it with a wall of stone 24 feet high. So the tree is now encircled with a wall about 20 feet high." (*) The only other passage in the *Buddhist Records* relating to Pūrṇavarma that I am aware of is the one (II) which mentions a pavillion of six stages having been "formerly made" by Pūrṇavarma to cover a figure of Buddha standing outside the Nālanda monastery. (°) This same work is also referred to in the *Life of Hiuen Tshang* in these words (III):—"This was the work of Pūrṇavarma rāja in old days." (') The next passage in the *Life* germane to this topic is one (°) alluding to Jayasena of Yasṭivana (IV), in which it is stated that Pūrṇavarma-rāja, Lord of Magadha, had great respect for learned men, and that he assigned the revenue of twenty large towns for the support of Jayasena, which Jayasena declined to receive. The narrative then proceeds:—"After the obsequies of Pūrṇavarma, Śilāditya Rāja also invited him to be 'the master (of the country),' and assigned him the revenue of eighty large towns of Orissa, which Jayasena likewise declined to accept." "From that time," we are further told, "Jayasena has constantly lived on the mountain called Yasṭivana, where he takes charge of disciples." We have thus four different passages relating to Pūrṇavarma in Mr. Beal's volumes, and taking them all together, the following conclusions seem to be fairly deducible from them:—

First.—Pūrṇavarma had been dead some time before Hiuen Tshang's visit to India. (Passage No. IV.)

Second.—Pūrṇavarma must have lived at a time sufficiently removed from the date of Hiuen Tshang's pilgrimage, to warrant his speaking of the work done by Pūrṇavarma as having been done "formerly" or "in old days." (Passages II. and III.)

Third.—The interval of time between Pūrṇavarma and Hiuen Tshang must be enough to explain the reduction of about four feet in the height of the wall built round the Bodhi tree. (Passage I.)

Fourth.—The interval between Pūrṇavarma and Hiuen Tshang must not be too large to be spanned by the life of Jayasena, who was living in Hiuen Tshang's time, and had acquired renown enough

* Vol. II., p. 118.

° Vol. II., p. 174

' *Life of Hiuen Tshang*, by Beal, p. 119.

° *Ibid.*, p. 153.

during Pūrṇavarma's reign to be offered the revenues of twenty large towns by that sovereign. (Passage IV)

Comparing the conclusions now set forth with those I have expounded in my previous paper, I do not see any inconsistency between them. My final conclusion in my previous paper was that Pūrṇavarma probably flourished about 590 A.D. And if it is remembered that, according to General Cunningham's computation, Hiuen Tshang must have been in Pūrṇavarma's kingdom of Western Magadha about 637-638 (⁹) this gives us an interval of nearly 50 years between Hiuen Tshang and Pūrṇavarma—an interval which, I venture to think, is certainly not too large, in view of the fourth of the propositions above set out, nor, perhaps, too small in view of the first three of them.

Let us now consider Mr. Pandit's criticisms on this branch of the argument, as set forth in my previous paper. He first contends that (¹⁰) "if Hiuen Tshang * * * does not mention that he went to see Pūrṇavarma, it does not follow from this (¹¹) that he was not living at the time. Hiuen Tshang does not, as a rule, go to see all the kings whose territories he visits, nor, even if he sees them, does he mention their names." Mr. Pandit then proceeds to refer to various monarchs whose territories Hiuen Tshang visited, but whose names he does not mention. The facts may be readily admitted, but I cannot perceive that they have any force as against my argument, which I will crave leave to re-state in the very words I used in 1884. "Hiuen Tshang," I then said, "speaks of Pūrṇavarma as the last of the descendants of Aśoka, and does not appear to have made any effort to see either him or any of his successors. I am disposed from this fact to infer that Pūrṇavarma had ceased to reign before Hiuen Tshang heard of him * * * To my mind it would be almost extraordinary

⁹ Mr. Pandit accepts this date. See p. 219. See also Cunningham's *Ancient Geography* p. 565.

¹⁰ P. 219.

¹¹ Mr. Pandit does not notice the significance of the phrase "the last of Aśoka's descendants," on which I also relied. As to this see some remarks of General Cunningham's at *Arch. Sur. Reports*, Vol. XV., p. 164. See also pp. 165-8. The General's identification of Maukharī and Maurya seems to me to be certainly open to question. If Pūrṇavarma was one of the Maukharis, as General Cunningham thinks, and if the Maukharis were Kshatriyas, as seems pretty clear, Pūrṇavarma cannot have really been "a descendant of Aśoka." It is possible that the Buddhist tradition of Hiuen Tshang's time, disregarding caste, sought to enhance the importance of Pūrṇavarma by referring him to a family which was great in ancient Buddhist tradition.

circumstance for Hiuen Tshang to have failed to visit Pūrṇavarma and to keep a record of the visit, if Pūrṇavarma was living when Hiuen Tshang was in the country. And as he makes no allusion whatever to any such visit, and describes Pūrṇavarma as the last of Aśoka's descendants, I infer from this that Pūrṇavarma had long ⁽¹²⁾ been dead, and that his kingdom had assumed quite a subordinate position under some more powerful sovereign." ⁽¹³⁾ Nothing in the above reasoning, it will be observed, turns upon Hiuen Tshang's omission to mention any names, on which Mr. Pandit lays stress. My main point is that such a man as Hiuen Tshang would certainly visit a king like Pūrṇavarma, having regard to the latter's performances in relation to the Bodhi tree, as chronicled by Hiuen Tshang himself. But it is unnecessary to go further into this argument now. The correctness of my conclusion, impugned by Mr. Pandit, is demonstrated by the mention of the "obsequies of Pūrṇavarma" in the fourth of the passages set out above.

¹² On further consideration, I doubt whether the evidence really justifies the use of the word "long" here. Mr. Pandit, in another passage from the one set out in the text (see p. 220, and also, p. 223), says, "It is quite true that both Pūrṇavarma and Śaśāṅka were dead before Hiuen Tshang's pilgrimage, but again at p. 223 he says that Pūrṇavarma was "probably not living at the time of the pilgrimage."

¹³ This was, of course, a mere suggestion thrown out on the basis of the facts set forth above. It seems, to some extent, to receive support from a fact mentioned in one of Bhagvānīśī's Nepāl Inscriptions. We learn from that inscription that about the period of the reign of Harshavardhana of Kanauj, Ādityasena was "Lord of Magadha," Ādityasena being the great-grandfather of Jayadeva who married Harsha's daughter. May we reasonably conclude from this that some time before the reign of Harsha, the sceptre of Magadha had passed away from the hands of the "Varmanas" into those of Ādityasena's family? But I am bound to point out here, that Ādityasena's age, as here suggested by me, is by no means to be taken as established. See Bhagvānīśī in *Ind. Antiq.* Vol. XIII. p. 420 and Cunningham's *Arch. Sur. Reports*, Vol. XV., p. 103, where, however, there is some mistake in the relationships stated, also *Ind. Antiq.* Vol. X., p. 193. My difficulty about those dates is that if Harsha died about 650 A.D. his daughter's husband could not have been alive in 760 A.D. And again if Ādityasena was the great grandfather of Jayadeva who married Harsha's daughter, Ādityasena could hardly have flourished between 670 and 690 A.D., the earlier limit there being itself 20 years subsequent to Harsha's death. It is to be remembered further, that the Nepāl inscription and other records accessible to us do not necessarily involve the inference that Ādityasena was the first prince of his family who became "Lord of Magadha." The question, however, is hardly ripe for settlement yet. Mr. Pandit (pp. 215-6) has referred to Ādityasena's date, without, however, dealing with the difficulty here suggested.

Mr. Pandit's next contention is that, "even if Pūrṇavarma was not living about 637-638 A.D., it is not necessary to put him so far back as towards the end of the sixth century. He may have reigned from 600 to 635, as well as somewhere towards the end of the sixth century." I have not said in my previous paper, nor do I say now, that the earlier date which I adopted from General Cunningham was "necessary." "Likely to be nearer the truth" and "may be inferred," were the phrases which I then used in reference to that date. But now in view of the passages above extracted, and especially of the second and third of them, I am prepared to give in my adhesion to that date with a little *more* confidence than I felt at the time of my previous paper. If, as Mr. Pandit suggests, Pūrṇavarma "must have been alive in about 635 A.D." (¹⁴) I cannot understand how Hiuen Tshang in 637-38 could speak of Pūrṇavarma's erection of the pavilion as a work done "formerly" or "in old days."

Mr. Pandit next proceeds to consider "Hiuen Tshang's own references to Pūrṇavarma." I will deal at present only with the references falling within the first of the two groups above mentioned. The first of these, considered by Mr. Pandit, is that contained in our first passage. Mr. Pandit's rendering from the French version of M. Julien differs here very materially from Mr. Beal's. Mr. Beal's has already been quoted. Mr. Pandit has, in lieu of it, the following :—"That is why this day the tree of intelligence is protected by a stone wall, which is higher by twenty feet than the tree." And commenting on this, Mr. Pandit says that, "as the tree was only four feet high when Hiuen Tshang writes, it could not then be more than two or three years old ; and, if so, Pūrṇavarma, who planted it . . . must have been living up till two or three years before the time at which Hiuen Tshang is speaking." Waiving the point that the inference thus drawn is not by any means a "necessary" one, it is obvious that our premises here are not to be implicitly relied on. Assuming the accuracy of Mr. Pandit's interpretation of M. Julien's version (¹⁵), it is clear that that version

¹⁴ Cf. Arch. Sur. Reports, Vol. XV., p. 166.

¹⁵ Dr. R. Mitra (Buddha Gayā, p. 79), translates Julien's words differently from Mr. Pandit, and, according to his rendering, Julien's and Beal's versions are quite in agreement. General Cunningham (Archæological Survey Reports, Vol. III. p. 80.1), says that Hiuen Tshang assigns to the tree a height of 40 or 50 feet at the time of his visit in A.D. 637. This fact the General must have obtained from M. Julien's work. It is also stated in Mr. Beal's version (Vol. II., p. 116). And it seems, therefore, manifest that Mr. Pandit's translation as quoted in the text

itself is different from Mr. Beal's. And in the face of this difference it is, of course, out of the question, at present, to base, any inference upon either of the divergent renderings.

The next passage Mr. Pandit relies upon is our passage number four—which, in his opinion, “*proves* that Pūrṇavarma must have died just such a short time before Hiuen Tshang was in Magadha, as I indicated above,” namely, two or three years before. The proof of this conclusion is thus stated:—“King Śilāditya could not have offered the revenue of eighty towns of the kingdom of Orissa for several years after 607, or, indeed, till 637 A.D., because it was not till then ⁽¹⁶⁾that he succeeded in making himself supreme ruler of India. At all events, Harshavardhana, whose father and brother ruled at Thanesar, and do not appear to have had any territory south of the Jumna, and who took six years to make any impression on his neighbours, could not have possessed the kingdom of Orissa *at the earliest* till 613 A.D.” I pause at this first step of the demonstration to admit the very great probability of the first branch of the final proposition here laid down, though there is room for difference of opinion as regards some of the minor points now stated. Mr. Pandit then proceeds:—“Till that year at least Pūrṇavarma may be safely presumed to be reigning.” Here, I confess, I am unable to follow Mr. Pandit's reasoning. I do not see how the duration of the reign of Pūrṇavarma of Magadha can be determined by the date of the conquest of Orissa by King Śilāditya of Kanuj, nor can any inference pointing that way be fairly derived from Hiuen Tshang's vague phrase “after the death of Pūrṇavarma.” Mr. Pandit further goes on to add that “the probability, however, is that he (i.e., Pūrṇavarma) was reigning much later, till perhaps the year 635 A.D., because the Śāstri was living and was in the full vigour of his literary activity as a teacher at the time when Hiuen Tshang left India towards the end of the year 643 A.D.” Again, I venture

must be incorrect, in so far as it shows the tree to have been then only four feet in height. General Cunningham (*loc. cit.*) assigns the destruction of the tree to the year 600 A.D., and its renewal by Pūrṇavarma to 610 A.D. In doing so he must, for the moment, have forgotten that Hiuen Tshang places the “renewal” only some months after the destruction (Beal's *Records*, Vol. II., p. 118), not ten years after.

¹⁶ Hiuen Tshang distinctly says (*Records*, Vol. II. p., 213), “that after six years he had subdued the Five Indies,” which included Orissa (see Cunningham's *Ancient Geography*, p. 19) not merely made an impression on his neighbours” as Mr. Pandit puts it. (P. 224).

to think, we have a *non sequitur*. Assuming that the Śāstri whom Pūrṇavarma honoured was living in 643 A.D., and was "then in the full vigour of his literary activity," I do not see that that justifies the inference that Pūrṇavarma himself was living till 635 A.D. To take a parallel from modern English history. Southey was honoured with the "laurel" in the reign of George III., yet he was "in the full vigour of his literary activity" throughout the reigns of George IV. and William IV., and was living so late as the early years of the reign of Queen Victoria. Again it is necessary to note this further fact. In the *Life of Hiuen T'sang* it is no doubt stated that the pilgrim remained with Jayasena Śāstri for two years, and those two years would be somewhere about 643-4 A.D., or possibly about 649 A.D. according to Professor Max Müller's calculations.⁽¹⁷⁾ But in the *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, by Hiuen T'sang himself, we are told that "in the Yashṭivana not long since there *is* an Upāsaka, named Jayasena, a Kshatriya of Western India."⁽¹⁸⁾ The whole description shows that we have in this passage of the *Records* the same Jayasena who is mentioned in the passage from the *Life* excerpted above. Regarding him we are further told in the *Records*, that "although nearly seventy years of age, he read with them (*i.e.*, his pupils) diligently and without cessation;" and again "that even after he was a hundred years old, his mind and body were in full activity."⁽¹⁹⁾ And reverting for a moment to the *Life* of Hiuen T'sang,⁽²⁰⁾ we find it stated that Jayasena, "as a youth, was given to study." What then is the result of these passages taken together? It is evident that Jayasena was a man blessed with great longevity, and that he commenced "his literary activity" while he was yet a "youth," and continued that "activity" till he was seventy or a hundred years of age. Leaving out of view, for the moment, the points on which the accounts in the two works, when compared, present difficulties, the conclusions now set forth seem to be undeniable. And if so, it seems to follow that

¹⁷ Compare Cunningham's *Ancient Geography*, pp. 566-570 with M. Müller's "India; what it can teach us," p. 286. General Cunningham's arguments at p. 570 would seem to refer the events alluded to in the text to 638 A.D.

¹⁸ Vol. II., p. 146. I may state that, generally speaking the *Records* appear to me to have much higher evidentiary value than the *Life*, as the *Records* contain Hiuen T'sang's own statements, the *Life* some one else's, based on Hiuen T'sang's notes and other materials. Cf. Beal's *Life*, pp. IX-X.

¹⁹ Vol. II., p. 147.

²⁰ P. 153.

Mr. Pandit's argument, as above stated, even if logically sustainable, cannot be maintained in view of the imperfect accuracy of the premises. For if Jayasena was seventy years old in 643 A.D.—it will be observed that I am putting the hypothesis most favourably for Mr. Pandit's argument—there would be nothing very improbable in his having been honoured by a king whose reign had closed, let us say, before 600 A.D., as well as by a king who reigned between 607 A.D. and 650 A.D. I cannot, therefore, at all accept Mr. Pandit's contention that the passage relating to Jayasena Śāstri upon which he relies, "proves" Pūrṇavarma to have been still living about 635 A.D. The net result, consequently, is that the question must be decided, as far as this branch of the argument is concerned, upon the first and second of the propositions above deduced from what may be called for convenience the Pūrṇavarma group of passages in Hiuen Tshang.

Let us now turn to the other group, which may be called the Śāsānka group. Taking, first, the *Buddhist Records*, we have (I.) the passage No. I. in the first group, which refers to Śāsānka's destruction of the Bodhi tree "in recent times." We have (II.) the passage relating to "the great stone on which Tathāgata walked," as to which we are to find that "lately Śāsānka-rāja, when he was overthrowing and destroying the law of Buddha, forthwith came to the place where that stone is for the purpose of destroying the sacred marks." (²¹). Thirdly, we have (III.) the passage touching the image of Buddha which Śāsānka ordered to be removed, and an image of Maheśvara substituted for it. The officer to whom the order was given, instead of removing the image, only built a wall of brick before the figure of Buddha, and placed a burning lamp with the figure, and we read that that wall was pulled down after the death of Śāsānka, and "although several days had elapsed, the lamp was still found to be burning unextinguished." (²²) Further we have (IV.) the passage (²³) relating to the priest's house, as to which Hiuen Tshang tells us that "Śāsānka-rāja having destroyed the religion of Buddha, the members of the priesthood were dispersed, and for many

²¹ Vol. II., p. 91.

²² Vol. II., pp. 121-2.

²³ Vol. II., p. 42. The whole passage seems to show that not only the priest, but also his house, though they outlived the attacks of King Śāsānka had failed to survive down to the days of Hiuen Tshang's visit to their "great village;" for Hiuen Tshang speaks of both as belonging to past times, and does not himself describe "the magnificent priest's house."

years driven away. The Brahman, nevertheless, retained for them through all an undying regard." And, lastly, in the *Records* we have (V.) the passage referring to Śaśānka's murder of Rājyavardhana, brother of Harshavardhana, and his "overturning" the Law of Buddha. (24). Passing next to the *Life* of Hiuen Tshang, we have (VI.) the message sent to Śilabhadra of Nālanda by Kumāra-rāja of Eastern India, *not* by Harshavardhana as Mr. Pandit inadvertently states, in which it is said:—"In recent times Śaśānka-rāja was equal still to the destruction of the law, and uprooted the Bodhi tree. Do you, my master, suppose that your disciple has no such power as this?" (25) These are the passages forming the second group above referred to. And to what conclusion do they point? The words "lately" and "in recent times," contained in the first two of the passages now under consideration, seem to me, when read in the light of the context in which they appear, to afford no safe ground for any conclusion regarding the period when King Śaśānka flourished. We have there allusion made first to events which are stated to belong to the time of Aśoka, upwards of eight centuries before Hiuen Tshang's time, and then a reference to Śaśānka's doings or misdoings, as having occurred "lately" or "in recent times." Half a century, or even a whole century, before Hiuen Tshang's pilgrimage takes us back to a period which can, I venture to say, be quite accurately spoken of as "late" and "recent" in comparison with occurrences then eight centuries old. (26) The third passage, as rendered by Mr. Beal, seems to me to throw no light on the period of Śaśānka's reign. Mr. Pandit's rendering of M. Julien would, no doubt, make the passage relevant to the inquiry, but waiving the point about the divergencies in the interpretation of Hiuen Tshang, we may note that Mr. Pandit himself

²⁴ Vol. I., pp. 210-2.

²⁵ P. 171.

²⁶ Mr. Pandit relies on another passage in Hiuen Tshang where the same phrase—"in these recent times"—is used in relation to Harshavardhana. The passage occurs at p. 183 of Beal's *Life*. It seems to me, however, to have no bearing upon the question. "In recent times" may, of course, signify five years ago, or any other similarly small period of time. The question here, however, is not how short a time the phrase will cover, but what is the maximum time it can cover. And further it is to be remarked that in this passage, as indeed in all the others with the single exception of No. VI. above, the phrase "in recent times" is used to mark a contrast with something which had occurred "in old days." (See Beal's *Life*, p. 181.) Does the phrase then indicate modern occurrences as distinguished from those which took place in the early days of Buddhist history?

admits that the passage "does not by itself perhaps decide much either way." He then calls in aid the first of the passages in our previous group, but it is unnecessary to say more on that passage here. The fourth passage shows that Śaśānka's "destruction" of the religion of Buddha had occurred "many years" before Hiuen Tshang's pilgrimage, and that even the Brāhman who kept the priest's house in spite of that "destruction" had also passed away before Hiuen Tshang's visit to his village. The fifth passage I reserve for separate notice later on. The sixth shows that Śaśānka's mischievous activity was still regarded as a matter of "recent times" in the days of Hiuen Tshang. I do not know, however, that it is inaccurate to speak of historical occurrences of, say, fifty years ago as "recent." Very much depends, of course, on the point of view occupied by the speaker. But, on the other hand, it does appear to me somewhat unwarrantable to hold that "in recent times" must necessarily mean two or three years ago. (*).

Having thus examined the two groups of passages relevant to our inquiry, I think we may now pause for a moment to consider the ultimate outcome of such examination. And it appears to me that leaving aside all circumstances disclosed by this inquiry, which are either equivocal or not satisfactorily made out, we may deduce this result from the data before us taken as a whole, namely, that both Śaśānka and Pūrṇavarma had been dead before the days of Hiuen Tshang's

Professor Max Müller (India; What it can teach us? p. 287, n. 6) refers to the phrase, but does not fix for it any precise meaning. As against this suggestion of Mr. Pandit's, however, I may also point to a number of passages in Hiuen Tshang, where the phrases "formerly" or "in old days" are used. See *inter alia* Beal's *Records*, Vol. II, pp. 10, 13, 26, 103, 113, 116. The events alluded to there are all events belonging to the period of Buddha's activity or to the period immediately after the Nirvāṇa. It cannot, of course, follow from these passages that those phrases must be rigidly confined to that signification; and no more should the phrases "in these recent times" or "lately" be confined to the sense they have in the passage relating to Harṣavardhana. See also Mr. Beal's note at *Buddhist Records*, Vol. II, p. 81, which shows what that eminent authority considers to be the signification of the Chinese phrase which is the original of "lately." And cf. also, on the whole question, Note I. at Beal's *Life*, p. 10.

** Taking Mr. Pandit's remarks as a whole, I doubt if even he would have so interpreted the phrase except in the light of the passage about the height of the Bodhi tree in Hiuen Tshang's time. I have shown above how that passage appears to have been misunderstood by Mr. Pandit. When correctly interpreted, that passage, so far as it goes, helps my view. I think, rather than Mr. Pandit's. But I admit it does not go very far.

pilgrimage in India, and that their achievements during life, though doubtless spoken of as having occurred "lately" or "in recent times," are nevertheless also described as having occurred "formerly" or "many years ago," or "in old times;" and that having regard to the context of the former set of phrases, they are entitled to somewhat less weight in connection with the subject of our inquiry than the latter set. And, if so, it follows that we cannot be far wrong if we place Pūrṇavarma and Śaśānka half a century before Hiuen Tshang's visit to Magadha. One other observation may be added. The phrases "lately" or "in recent times," whether they are to be interpreted, as I suggest, or in the narrower and more limited sense which Mr. Pandit would attach to them, are, in our authorities, applied to Śaśānka-rāja (²⁸) and his doings only, while the phrases "formerly" or "in old days" are applied to the doings of Pūrṇavarma. It is then very probable that though, speaking roughly, Pūrṇavarma and Śaśānka can properly be described as contemporaries, still only a small part of Pūrṇavarma's reign may have fallen within the period of Śaśānka's rule; so that even if Śaśānka lived in the first decade of the seventh century A.D. (²⁹) our authorities would still justify us in referring Pūrṇavarma to the last decade of the sixth century. I shall have to say a word more on this topic in the sequel.

There is yet one more line of inquiry bearing upon our subject, which we must now follow up. That is indicated by the fifth passage in our second group, which we reserved for separate treatment. Śaśānka, we

²⁸ If we could accept Mr. Fergusson's identification of Śaśānka with the "Śankaraja," whose son Budharaja was put to flight by the Chālukya King Manguliśa (see J.R.A.S. (N.S.), Vol. IV. p. 93), our task here would be a good deal easier than it is, because Manguliśa's date is thoroughly well fixed by the Badāmi inscription. Looking, however, at the *facsimile* of Mangaliśa's inscription, referred to by Mr. Fergusson, I do not think his identification is sustainable. The *facsimile* shows General Jacob's transliteration शङ्करगुप्त to be correct, and in those letters we cannot possibly see the name of Śaśānka—not to mention other difficulties also. Mr. Pandit (p. 217, note) throws out a suggestion that Śaśānka may be identical with the Rājavarma mentioned in one part of Sankarāchārya's Bhāṣya on the Chhāndogya Upanishad. This is not very probable, if Śaśānka's other name was Narendragupta as we are told by General Cunningham *ex-relations* Dr. Bühler (see Arch. Sur. Report, Vol. IX. p. 157).

²⁹ Dr. R. Mitra (Buddha Gayā, pp. 84, 99, 239-40), following General Cunningham, assigns Śaśānka's destruction of the Bodhi tree to about 610 A.D. That date can hardly be correct, if the arguments in the text are sustainable. See also Cunningham's *Geography*, p. 509, and note 15 *supra*.

learn from that passage, murdered Rājyavardhana, the elder brother of Harshavardhana Śilāditya. In my previous paper I have thrown together a few remarks on the date of Rājyavardhana. I am not in a position now to adduce any new facts bearing upon that question. But having had an opportunity, which I had not when I wrote my previous paper, of examining all that Hiuen Tshang says on the subject, I wish to point out one or two circumstances in relation to the conclusions which Professor Max Müller and Mr. Fergusson have deduced from Hiuen Tshang's statements. Mr. Fergusson first starts by asserting that Śilāditya of Mālavā was the grandfather of Harshavardhana Śilāditya of Kanuj. ⁽²⁰⁾ For this assertion, however, I can find no warrant in Hiuen Tshang. On the contrary, I think that assertion must be incorrect, seeing that we find the nephew of Śilāditya of Mālavā stated by Hiuen Tshang himself to have married the grand-daughter of Śilāditya of Kanuj. ⁽²¹⁾ If Mr. Fergusson's assertion were correct, this would be equivalent to a man marrying the daughter of his own first cousin's grandson—a sufficiently improbable, not to say also inadmissible, connection. Apparently, Mr. Fergusson has here been misled by reason of his seeking for an explanation of the identity of the two names, in "the practice of Indian kings to assume the names of their grand-fathers." ⁽²²⁾ Such a practice doubtless prevails, and not only among Indian kings, but it is, of course, nothing like universal. "Śilāditya of Mālavā," according to Hiuen Tshang, "flourished sixty years before this;" ⁽²³⁾ that is to say, before 610 A.D., if we accept the dates fixed by Professor Max Müller and Mr. Fergusson, ⁽²⁴⁾ and according to the same authority, his reign extended over fifty years. ⁽²⁵⁾ On these data Mr. Fergusson places the reign of Śilāditya between 530 and 580 A.D. Professor Max Müller thinks that 550 to 600 A.D. would be consistent with these data, while this latter period harmonizes better with our information regarding the date of the battle of Korûr, &c. ⁽²⁶⁾ It is not necessary for our present purpose to go into this branch of the

²⁰ J. R. A. S. (N. S.), Vol. IV., p. 87.

²¹ See *Buddhist Records*, Vol. II., p. 267. Beal's *Life*, p. 149, states the relationship with a slight change which, however, does not much affect the argument.

²² J. R. A. S. (N. S.), Vol. IV., p. 85.

²³ Beal's *Buddhist Records*, Vol. II., p. 261. Beal's *Life*, p. 148.

²⁴ General Cunningham concurs. See *Ancient Geography*, p. 586.

²⁵ "Fifty years and more" in the *Records*, Vol. II., p. 261.

²⁶ India; What can it teach us, p. 289; *Ind. Antig.*, Vol. XIII., p. 14.

controversy. Whatever the correct dates may be, I apprehend that they can have no bearing on the dates of Prabhākara-vardhana and Rājyavardhana, if the relationship alleged between these latter princes and Śilāditya of Mālavā is not proved. The period of the reigns of Prabhākara and Rājyavardhana must, therefore, be discussed on somewhat different grounds than those adopted by Professor Max Müller and Mr. Fergusson. Even this discussion, however, is unnecessary for our present purpose, except to a slight extent. It is enough here to note that Rājyavardhana's murder must be placed somewhere between 607 and 610 A.D., according to the views of the scholars who have examined the point.⁽³⁶⁾ The inclination of my opinion—I can, at present, put it no higher—is in favour of the earlier date. In addition to the general grounds stated for this opinion in my previous paper, I may add that Hiuen Tshang's statements seem to me to point in that direction. According to Hiuen Tshang, Harsha told him that he had reigned for "thirty years and more" before the conversation between them. Again, Hiuen Tshang tells us that it was "after six years" from his accession that Harsha "had subdued the Five Indies."⁽³⁷⁾ We may reasonably presume that it was not until after this subjugation of the Five Indies that Harsha commenced his series of quinquennial Mokshamahāparishads, the sixth of which was held when Hiuen Tshang was about to leave India. In view of these facts and even upon the assumption that the conversation and Parishad alluded to took place in 640 A.D., I think 610 A.D. is not the correct date of Harsha's accession, but that 607 A.D. is nearer the correct date. At that date Śaśānka, the enemy of Harsha's predecessor must have been living.⁽³⁸⁾ I find no materials for saying how long he had been reigning before that time. I can only say that from the various references to Śaśānka's persecutions which occur in Hiuen

³⁶ Cf. India ; What it can teach us, p. 266 ; and Cunningham's *Geography and the other authorities collected in my previous paper* ; also J. R. A. S. (N. S.), Vol. IV., p. 93. Mr. Pandit accepts the date 607 A. D. Alberuni's testimony on this point, which, thanks to Professor Sachau, I have now been enabled to examine in full, is, I think, of great value in spite of the discrepant accounts reported by him. On those accounts see Max Müller's *India ; What it can teach us*, p. 282.

³⁷ See as to this Cunningham's *Geography*, p. 378, *sed quare* as to the accuracy of the version of Hiuen Tshang there given, in view of the passage at *Buddhist Records*, Vol. I., p. 213.

³⁸ General Cunningham assigns Śaśānka to the beginning of the seventh century, *Arch. Sur. Reports*, Vol. III., pp. 81-3, also *Ancient Geography*, p. 509.

Thsang, his reign does not appear to have been a very brief one. At the same time such slight indications as are available seem to point to Śāsānka not having long survived the murder of Rājyavardhana. If he had remained alive for any time, Harshavardhana would, of course, have attacked him in the wars undertaken by him expressly for the punishment of his brother's enemies. ⁽³⁹⁾ In this connection, however, Śāsānka is not mentioned by Hiuen Thsang, while it is stated that he died by the effects of a divine visitation. ⁽⁴⁰⁾ That death probably explains the omission of Śāsānka's name in connection with Harsha's military achievements. If so, some part, and perhaps even a considerable part, of Śāsānka's reign may well have fallen in the last years of the sixth century. ⁽⁴¹⁾ And if I am right in the suggestion thrown out above, that only the latter part of Pūrṇavarma's reign was contemporaneous with the earlier part of Śāsānka's, the date 590 A. D. for Pūrṇavarma, is not far removed from the truth, and certainly not in the direction of too great antiquity.

This review then of the evidence bearing upon the dates of Pūrṇavarma, of Śāsānka, and of Rājyavardhana, has not disclosed any reason for modifying the conclusions arrived at in my previous paper. Mr. Pandit, however, draws attention to one element of doubt in the whole of this inquiry, namely, that whereas Hiuen Thsang speaks of Pūrṇavarma as belonging to the family of the great Aśoka, Śāṅkarāchārya, in an important passage disinterred by Mr. Pandit from his commentary on the Chhāndogya Upanishad, speaks of Pūrṇavarma's family as

³⁹ Beal's *Records*, Vol. I., pp. 210-13. Mr. Pandit (p. 220) says "Śāsānka was not punished for this perfidy at least till after six years from Harsha's accession." But I see no reference to this punishment even "after six years" in Hiuen Thsang, or even in Bāṇa's *Harshacharita*, where we only read of Bhandi being sent against the Gauda King.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, Vol. II., p. 121.

⁴¹ On this point it is to be noticed also that in Beal's *Life*, p. 131, we find Karmasuvarṇa, the country of Śāsānka, to have been possessed in the days of Hiuen Thsang of "about ten Sanghārāmas and 300 priests," besides two other Sanghārāmas belonging to a section of the Buddhistic community. [As to the establishment of Sanghārāmas cf. *Records*, Vol. II., p. 196.] In the *Records* (Vol. II., p. 201) the priests are stated to have been 2,000 instead of 300, and the sectional Sanghārāmas three instead of two. "The heretics" are stated to be "very numerous" and to have "fifty Deva temples." It is not unreasonable to suppose that it must have taken a considerable number of years for Buddhism to have reached this position in the country of Śāsānka, whose chief activity appears to have been devoted to persecuting that religion.

being obscure, and as good as non-existent before Pūrṇavarma made it famous. This element of doubt must, of course, be at present recognised as existing. At the same time I must confess that I am not disposed to attach very much importance to it. Mr. Pandit himself points out one consideration which detracts from its importance. Another consideration is that our national deficiency in "the historic sense" renders it unsafe to build any conclusion on the ignorance of even an eminent man like Śankarāchārya about the genealogy of Pūrṇavarma; and especially so, when we are dealing with that genealogy at a period of eight centuries before his time. And a further consideration is that we have at present no evidence to show that the Brahminical traditions recognised Pūrṇavarma as a representative of the family of Aśoka (⁴²) in the same way that the Buddhist traditions did. Lastly it must not be forgotten that Aśoka's own unquestionable greatness finds but an inadequate recognition in Hindu, as distinguished from Buddhist, tradition. Upon the whole, therefore, my faith in the identification of Hiuen Tshang's Pūrṇavarma with Śankarāchārya's Pūrṇavarma remains at present unshaken. It is, of course, possible that the identification may turn out to be an erroneous one. But looking at all the circumstances of the case, I do not think that that is at all probable. (⁴³)

I have said above, that I do not on the present occasion intend to discuss the date of Śankarāchārya, but confine myself to the date of Pūrṇavarma. I wish, however, to depart slightly from my original intention, to make a remark in reference to the facts brought to light by Professor Bhāṇḍārkar. I alluded in my previous paper to the inference based by Professor Bhāṇḍārkar on these facts, but was not in possession of the detailed facts themselves when I wrote that paper. Since then the facts have been published in Professor Bhāṇḍārkar's report on the search for Sanskrit MSS. during the year 1882-83. (⁴⁴) We there learn that a "grand-pupil" of Śankarāchārya wrote a work while "the prosperous King, the Āditya or the sun of the race of Manu, who belonged to a Kshatriya family, and whose orders were nowhere disobeyed, was ruling over the earth." It appears to me that

⁴² See also the remarks in Note 11 *supra*.

⁴³ At the same time, further corroboration of the various propositions involved in the argument must be looked for. And the data supplied in Mr. Pandit's paper indicate one or two points on which we may reasonably expect that some corroboration may yet be forthcoming.

⁴⁴ Pp. 14, 15, and 202.

Professor Bhāṇḍārkar's suggestion is almost certainly right, that this king must be one of the Chālukyas, and probably one of the four successors of the great Pulakeśī whose names ended with Āditya. Professor Bhāṇḍārkar does not say which of the four is, in his opinion, to be here understood. And there are, no doubt, hardly enough materials before us to form any very confident opinion. In the absence, however, of anything else, it seems to me not unreasonable to hold that the king alluded to in the passage under consideration must be the first Vikramāditya; firstly, because Vikrama appears to have been a powerful and distinguished prince, (*); and secondly, and more especially, because, unless we take the first of these "Ādityas" to be intended, the description would be too indefinite to serve the presumable purpose of the writer. (**) In default of all other data, therefore, we may provisionally accept the suggestion that a "grand-pupil" of Śāṅkarāchārya flourished in the reign of Pulakeśī's son, and if that suggestion is correct, we must agree with Professor Bhāṇḍārkar in holding that "Śāṅkarāchārya must be referred to about the end of the sixth century." And so far as they go, this conclusion, and the conclusion we have reached above about the date of King Pūrṇavarma may fairly be treated as supporting and strengthening each other.

* According to Mr. Fergusson, he reacquired the title of Mahārājādhirāja, which his grandfather Pulakeśī II. had originally acquired, but which had passed out of the family in the time of his elder brother Chandraditya. See also *Ind. Antiq.*, Vol. X., p. 132, and Inscription No. XXVIII. at *Ind. Antiq.*, Vol. VI., p. 75, where it may be noted *valeat quantum* that the grant recorded is to a Brāhmin who studied the Vedānta, though it is not necessary to construe Vedānta here to mean Śāṅkarāchārya's philosophy.

** This presumable purpose is indicated in the closing stanza of the Bhaṭṭi-kāvya—काव्यमिदं विहितं मया बलभ्यां श्रीधरसेननेत्रपालितायाम् ॥ कीर्तितो भवताञ्ज-पस्य तस्य क्षेमकरोहि नृपः प्रजाजनानाम् ॥

ART. VII.—*The Epoch of the Gupta Era.*—BY RAMKRISHNA
GOPAL BHANDARKAR, M.A., Ph.D., HON. M.R.A.S.

Communicated 1st August 1889.

In 1884 I published in my *Early History of the Dekkan*, a note on the Gupta Era, in which I endeavoured to show that there was no reason whatever to doubt the accuracy of the initial date of the Gupta Era given by Alberuni, and that such of the Gupta dates found in inscriptions as contained details which allowed of their being compared with corresponding Śaka years, confirmed the statement of the Arab author. In the Introduction to the volume on the "Inscriptions of the Early Gupta Kings," just published by Mr. J. F. Fleet, as Epigraphical Surveyor to the Government of India for about three years and a half, he quotes my views, in doing which, however, he has not been fair to me. He is also at issue with me as to the accurate Epoch of the Gupta Era. I therefore deem it necessary to notice this part of the Introduction.

In note 2, p. 64, Mr. Fleet says of me :—"A most curious confusion between current and expired years of the Śaka Era runs through his remarks. Thus, though quite rightly taking Śaka-Saṃvat 406 expired to be equivalent to A.D. 484-85 with a difference of 78-79, he also, with the same difference, took, *e. g.* A. D. 511-12 as the equivalent of Śaka-Saṃvat 433 current." I did not; and this is a pure misquotation. I did not say that Śaka-Saṃvat 406 expired was equivalent to A. D. 484-85; nor did I say that Śaka-Saṃvat 433 current was equivalent to A.D. 511-12. My words are :—"Śaka 406 corresponds to 484 A.D.* *If, however, he had added $241 + 78 = 319$ and taken 484 A.D. to correspond to Gupta 165, &c." (E. H. D. p. 99, lines 12 and 15-16); and, "191 Gupta *past* + 242 = 433 Śaka *current* + 78 = 511 A.D. *current*." That is, I take 406 Śaka *past* (= 165 Gupta + 241) to correspond to 484 A. D. and 433 Śaka *current* to 511 A.D. Now it is a patent fact that every Śaka year corresponds to parts of two Christian years; but to avoid pedantry it is usual to give one of the two years only, except when something important is involved. And I have here given that of the two Christian years with which I was concerned. Śaka 406 *past* corresponds to a part of 484 and of 485 A.D., and Śaka 433 *current* to a part of 510 and of 511 A.D. I gave the first in the first case, because the month of Āshāḍha mentioned in the

inscription falls in the first of the two Christian years to which a Śaka year corresponds, and to mark off its contrast with General Cunningham's 483 (not 483-484); and the second in the second case because it was the year against which the cyclic year Mahāchaitra is found in General Cunningham's tables, and not against 510. It will thus be seen that the "most curious confusion" found by Mr. Fleet is not in my remarks, but in Mr. Fleet's misunderstanding and misquotation of them. He had no reason whatever to take my 511 A.D. as 511-12, A.D.; if he wanted to state the two years to which the Śaka year corresponds, he ought to have taken it as 510-11 A.D. In another place (p. 141, note 3) though he acknowledges that my second note drew his attention to the desirability of examining the details of almanacs, and though he must have seen it distinctly stated by me that the Śaka dates used by us in the Bombay Presidency represent expired years and those used on the Madras side current years, the latter being in advance of the former by one year, and though under these circumstances it is impossible that I should think the addition of 79 to a current Śaka year would give us the Christian year containing the second part of the Śaka year, still it is under such an implication as this that he quotes this same equation of mine, *viz.*, 191 Gupta past + 242 = 433 Śaka current + 78 = 511 A.D. current, and another, *viz.*, 209 Gupta past + 242 = 451 Śaka current + 78 = 529 A. D. current. Both these equations I say are perfectly correct; but the second Christian year a part of which corresponds to a part of the Śaka year ought not to be taken as 512 in the one case and 530 in the other, but 510 and 528 respectively. And as I have given 511 in the first case as stated above, because in General Cunningham's tables it and not 510 occurs in the column of *Mahāchaitra*, so have I in the second, given 529 and not 528, because it occurs in the column of *Mahāśvayuja*.

Again, in my note I identify (E. H. D. p. 100, lines 26-27) Dhruvasena II. with Hiuen Tsiang's Dhruvabhaṭa, and observing that the difference in the latter part of the names is insignificant, since *Sena* and *Bhaṭa* were titles that could be used promiscuously, I proceed to say that the king spoken of in the plates as Dhruvasiṃha may have been called Dhruvabhaṭa by ordinary people from whom Hiuen Tsiang must have got the name. Now, no fair-minded man can have any difficulty whatever in finding out that here I speak of the same king Dhruvasena with whom I have above identified Hiuen Tsiang's

Dhruvabhāṭa, and that Dhruvasīmha is a misprint for Dhruvasena. Still Mr. Fleet says "the name of Dhruvasīmha does not occur at all in any of the numerous Valabhī grants that have come to light." If I were to criticize Mr. Fleet's work in the same spirit, I should, for instance, say as regards his reference to Volume IX. of the *Archæological Reports* as that which contains General Cunningham's "tables for the twelve-year cycle of Jupiter" (p. 102, note 1, l. 13), that the tables did not occur at all in the whole volume; and I should be more justified in doing so, since Mr. Fleet gives no indication whatever that IX. is a misprint for X.; while I have just five lines above called the same king whose name is printed here as Dhruvasīmha, Dhruvasena.

Mr. Fleet supposes me to have made "an assertion that Hiuen Tsiang was speaking of only two kings" (Intro. p. 65, ll. 6-7). I made no such assertion. My words are:—"The Chinese writer does not speak of a *king* but of *kings*," (E. H. D. p. 100, ll. 16-17). The word *two* does not occur here or anywhere else in connection with this matter. Mr. Fleet, however, may have meant to say that this is implied in the words that immediately follow which are:—"and says they were nephews of Śīlāditya of Mālvā and the younger of them named Dhruvabhāṭa, was son-in-law to the son of Harshavardhana. If they were nephews of the king of Mālvā they were brothers and both of them kings." If so, my reply is, that herein I interpret the plural *kings* in view of the identification I am going to make of the kings with two brothers who reigned one after another, viz. Dharasena and Dhruvasena. Mr. Fleet at the same time finds no authority in the two translations of the Chinese work for my statement that the younger prince was denoted by Hiuen Tsiang by the name T'u-lu-p'o-po-tu. The authority is in Julien's translation. The words translated into English are:—"The present kings are of the race of Kshatriya. They are nephews of Śīlāditya, King of Mālvā. At this time the son of Śīlāditya king of Kānyakubja has a son-in-law named Dhruvapaṭu." Since Hiuen Tsiang is to be supposed as knowing of kings past and present and not future, the kings who were nephews of Śīlāditya of Mālvā other than the one on the throne at the time, must have reigned previously to him, and since of brothers those who are elder occupy the throne before the younger, Dhruvapaṭu's brother or brothers who reigned before him must have been his elder brother or brothers, and he his or their younger brother. This is an obvious inference.

Again, Mr. Fleet says :—" he announced that Prof. K. L. Chhatre had found that it (Eraṇ record) was correct for Śaka-Saṁvat 406 as an expired year : " (p. 64). On this there is a footnote which begins :—" It was from this that he inferred that the Gupta Saṁvat 165 of the record was itself an expired year." And then he proceeds to tell me something about " the equation between the Gupta and the corresponding English date " being not " intrinsically dependent on the Śaka date at all," the bearing of which on the point I cannot understand, since the question is whether the Gupta year 165 as compared with the corresponding Śaka year and not the Christian year was an expired year. And in determining the value of Gupta dates we have primarily to do so in terms of a Śaka date and not a Christian date, since the equation given by Alberuni is in terms of a Śaka date. It will, however, be seen from the context that the fact of 406 Śaka being an expired year was only one of the premises which led me to the conclusion that 165 Gupta was a past year. The other premise is the rule I have laid down at the end of the last paragraph, viz., that if both the Gupta and Saka years are past or both current, the difference between them is only 241. And I have alluded to it even here. If between 165 Gupta and 406 Śaka the difference is 241 and if the latter is an expired year the former also must be so. The grounds for this rule also are indicated in my paper. Mr. Fleet contests it and attributes the result I come to to the general mistake as regards the epoch of the Śaka era (p. 84, note), and refers to his note on p. 64 which I have been discussing and in which he says, " the equation between the Gupta and the corresponding English date is not intrinsically dependent on the Śaka date at all." What the epoch of the Śaka era and the equation have to do with my rule I cannot perceive. It is based on independent grounds which I will now proceed to discuss as well as the true epoch of the Gupta era.

Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit has calculated and verified certain dates for Mr. Fleet and the following are the results :—

1. Gupta 165 of the Eraṇ inscription corresponds to Śaka 406 *expired*.
2. Valabhī 945 of Colonel Tod's Verāval inscription corresponds to Śaka 1186 *expired*.
3. Valabhī 927 of Dr. Bhagvānlāl's Verāval inscription corresponds to Śaka 1167 *expired*.

4. Valabhî 330 of Dr. Bühler's Kaira plate inscription corresponds to Śaka 570 *expired*.
5. Gupta 386 of a Nepal inscription corresponds to Śaka 627 *expired*.
6. Gupta 585 *past* of the Morvi plate translated by me corresponds to Śaka 826 and 827 *expired*.

Now Mr. Fleet supposes that the Gupta-Valabhî years are *current* years, and that by the addition of 241 the equation given by Alberuni, we get the corresponding *expired* Śaka year, and of 242, the corresponding current Śaka year. So that 0 Gupta current corresponded to 241 Śaka *expired* and 242 Śaka current, i.e., to 319-20. This therefore is the epoch of the era. Mr. Fleet gives no reason whatever for taking the Gupta years as current; but I suppose he thinks it natural that they should be so, especially since they were regnal years and dates in the Christian era represent current years. But from inscriptions and books we see that the Hindu's *usual*, not *invariable*, way of expressing a date is not 'in the year *so and so*' but 'after so many years had elapsed since such and such event took place.' And in the second note given in the 'Early History of the Dekkan,' I have shown that in the inscriptions there examined about two-thirds of the dates represent the year *expired*, and one-third the year *current*. It should by no means be supposed that the *expired* year is to be understood only when a word expressive of 'having elapsed' is used. We use *expired* Śaka years at the present day in ordinary transactions, but never use a word expressive of 'having elapsed.' Mr. Fleet admits, though most grudgingly, that "we may have to interpret any given year of such an era as an *expired* year whether it is expressly denoted as such or not" (p. 128, ll. 30-31), and gives an instance in a footnote. But by 'such an era' he means an era used for astronomical purposes, i. e. in the present case, the Śaka era, and asserts that the "rule does not hold good in the case of eras that are not actually used for astronomical processes," and says that the Vikrama era is such an era, (*Ib.*). But in the very next sentence he admits so much at least that "the *expired* years of this era might be quoted" and actually gives three instances; and all that he claims for the supposition on which his whole speculation about the Gupta dates which occupies by far the greater portion of his Introduction is based, is that, "occasionally at least, the *current* years were used." Mr. Fleet goes on to say, "such an era, again, is the Gupta-Valabhî era," and declares that in the absence of a word mean-

ing "expired" it is only reasonable that we should interpret passages giving dates as denoting a current year. What, then, all this comes to is this:—The expired years of an era whether used for astronomical purposes or not might be quoted in dates; but in the case of the latter a word expressive of "expired" must be used; if not the year is to be taken as current; while in the case of the former, *i. e.* an era used for astronomical calculations, such a word is not necessary. The grounds of this distinction Mr. Fleet does not give, and it is proved to be simply imaginary by the fact pointed out by Mr. Fleet himself (p. 86, note 3) that the Vikrama year 1320 in Col. Tod's Verāval inscription is an expired year, though there is no expression there which means 'expired.' If then a date in the non-astronomical Vikrama era does sometimes denote an expired year whether it is expressly so stated or not, why may we not take the same to be true of the non-astronomical Gupta-Valabhi era? And what has the fact of the use of an era for astronomical purposes to do with the occurrence of expired years in the dates given in inscriptions and books. I see no reason whatever why, if astronomers use an era and construct their rules and tables on the basis of an expired year, ordinary people also should give their dates in expired years. And why should astronomers themselves use that as the basis of their rules? If calculations have to be made by taking completed years, surely the results may be made applicable to the current year, and given as astronomical facts belonging to that year. Do not the Christian astronomers do so? There is nothing in the nature of astronomy to lead to such a result. The fact is that the use of a past Śaka year instead of a current one was brought about by the Hindu's usual way of looking at a date stated above; and it was rather transferred to astronomy from ordinary usage than borrowed from astronomy. And the usage has been found to hold in the case of Vikrama dates whether a word meaning 'expired' occurs or not, though this era is not used for astronomical purposes. Thus, then, the usage proved by me with reference to the Śaka dates and now shown to hold in the case of Vikrama dates, must be regarded as applicable to Gupta dates also, and we must expect to find them mostly as expired years, and sometimes as current years.

Again Alberuni's equation is, Śaka 953 corresponds to Gupta 712, *i. e.*, we have to add 241 to a Gupta date to arrive at the corresponding Śaka date. We have seen that the addition of 241 in three at least of the above dates and in the four dates of the twelve-year cycle

gives us an expired Śaka year. Hence Alberuni's Śaka 953 must be an expired year, a fact which is also proved by the corresponding date in one of the other eras given by him ; and on Mr. Fleet's theory his Gupta 712 must be a current year. Now this does not at all look likely that in giving the equivalent dates he should give the expired year of the Śaka and the current of the Gupta. Again, when he states that the epoch of the Valabhī or Gupta era falls 241 years later than the epoch of the Śaka era, ought we to understand him to say that the current year 0 of the Gupta era *i. e.* the year before the commencement of the era was 241 years later than the expired year 0 of the Śaka *i. e.* the first current year of that era, and make 241 Śaka expired and 242 current to correspond with 0 Gupta current and 242 and 243 respectively with 1 Gupta current ? Is it not proper to interpret him as meaning that the epoch of the Gupta era, *i. e.* 0 Gupta current is 241 years later than the epoch of the Śaka era *i. e.* 0 Śaka current, and take 241 Śaka current and 240 expired to correspond with Gupta 0 current and 242 and 241 respectively with 1 Gupta current ? According to Mr. Fleet's way of taking it the difference between a current or expired Gupta year and the corresponding current or expired Śaka is 242, Alberuni's equation 241 being applicable to those cases only in which one is expired and the other is current, while according to my interpretation the difference is 241, *i. e.* the number given by Alberuni. Again, my way of taking it harmonizes with M. Reinaud's translation "the era of the Guptas also commences the year 241 of the era of the Śaka," which means that 241 Śaka past is 1 current of the Gupta era or, 0 past, while Mr. Fleet's is quite opposed to it as according to him Gupta 1 current corresponds to 242 Śaka past. Again, the round-about way of arriving at the date of the destruction of Somnath mentioned by Alberuni proves nothing. The year 242 to which the years of passed centenniums have to be added may be the epoch year of the centennium. Thus, then, it is reasonable and natural to understand Alberuni, from all he has said, to mean that 241 have to be added to an expired or current Gupta to arrive at the corresponding expired or current Śaka.

But the date in the Morvī plate is almost fatal to Mr. Fleet's conjecture. It is put down as 585 *expired* and corresponds as determined from the solar eclipse mentioned in the grant to 826 Śaka *expired*. Thus we have here to add 241 to this *expired* year of the Gupta era, to arrive at the corresponding *expired* Śaka year ; while since Mr. Fleet

adds 241 to a *current* Gupta year to arrive at it he will have to add 242 in this case. The Gupta date will thus, according to his view, be equivalent to Śaka 827 *past*. But in that year also there was a solar eclipse. This occurred on the new moon day of Vaiśākha according to the Southern scheme or of Jyeshtha according to the Northern in the Śaka year 827 expired and 828 current. The grant was executed on the 5th of the bright half of Phālguna in the same Gupta year 585, which of course must, like that given above, be an expired year; so that according to Mr. Fleet's view the charter was issued nine months and four days after the religious gift had been made. But if we take the solar eclipse of 826 *expired* and 827 *current* to be the one alluded to in the grant, it occurred on the new moon day of Kārttika according to the Southern and of Mārgaśīrsha according to the Northern scheme, and thus the charter was issued three months and four days after the religious gift. This therefore is much more likely to be the eclipse mentioned in the grant, and if so, we have to add 241 to an *expired* not *current* Gupta year to arrive at the corresponding Śaka expired.*

Mr. Fleet makes every endeavour to throw discredit on this date. The eclipse of Śaka 826 *expired* he considers to be not as satisfactory as that of 827 *expired*, because on that occasion only one twenty-fifth part of the sun's disc was obscured at Morvi, while on this, one-ninth. But the religious significance of it which alone led the king to make his grant is the same for all solar eclipses, whatever the extent of the obscuration. So that this consideration has no force whatever in the decision of the question. Again, in three different places in his book he discusses in detail the reading *Gaupte* and the grammar and sense of the word (p. 21, 97 ff. Intr. and p. 58). He finds that in the facsimile of the Morvi plate published in the *Indian Antiquary*, one stroke on the top of the letter *g* in the word *Gaupte* is wanting, so that he reads it *Gopte*. Now I have no definite recollection whether when I read the plate I found this stroke; but I think it did exist there, for I had no difficulty whatsoever in making out the word *Gaupte* just

* The eclipse adopted by Mr. Fleet was the only one found for me by the late Prof. K. L. Chhatre, when I wrote my note. Though of course a general agreement of the details in the dates with Alberuni's equation, which had been discredited by some previous writers, was alone what I wanted to establish, and that object was served by Prof. Chhatre's eclipse, still I found it very inconvenient, and have therefore expressed myself very hypothetically about its bearing on the point.

as I had none in making out the word *paurva* the *p* of which has two strokes in the ninth line. The very small stroke which makes *au* of *o* may have dropped away in the facsimile. In fact the probability that it existed is very great, amounting almost to a certainty, since my corrections I have enclosed within brackets, and if *Gaupte* had been a correction for *Gopte* I should have enclosed it similarly. In the third line the stroke is also wanting on the letter *n* of *svarbbhānau* and also the upper stroke representing *r*. However, for the present there is no help, and we must take the word as Mr. Fleet would have it and read it as *Gopte*. But it stands to reason, even supposing that to be the true reading of the plate, that it could be meant for nothing else but *Gaupte*. Mr. Fleet thinks that it may have been intended for *Goptre*, 'to the protector,' i.e., 'the local governor,' and this he thinks is 'even more sustainable' (p. 21, Intr. and p. 58 note). So then, according to Mr. Fleet, this grant of land was made to the governor of the province and not to the Brahmans of the Maitrāyaṇīya śākhā mentioned above as the grantees. Was he to perform the religious ceremonies for which it was given? Or *Gopte* may be the name of a village, he thinks; and the sense then would be "the king gave this (charter) at (the village of) *Gopta*." But has he seen such charters spoken of as having been given at villages without some such expression as that the king was at that time residing in the village? Besides we should in such a case expect the word *grāma* 'village' affixed to *Gopta*. This village Mr. Fleet identifies with *Gôp* which he says is the name of a village in Kattiawar. *Gopta* according to him "may quite reasonably be taken as the ancient form of the modern *Gôp*" (p. 58, note). But ancient *Gopta* must by the rules of Prākṛit philology be changed to *Gotta* and not *Gop*, or according to a more modern process, to *Gopat*, *Gopit*, or *Goput*; but as the Gujarātīs have a predilection for *a*, it must become *Gopat*. Again, Mr. Fleet says:—(1) "Even then (i.e., when we correct *Gopte* to *Gaupte*), the adjective *Gaupte* occupies an irregularly detached place, which any skilful composer would have avoided, from the noun, *śatapañchake*, which it qualifies (p. 98, l. 8 ff.). (2) "But even then the adjective occupies a very inconveniently detached position as regards the noun, *pañchaka*, which it qualifies" (p. 21, ll. 23-24). If Mr. Fleet's criticism is just, all our great Sanskrit authors will have to be considered unskilful composers. The śloka is

Pañchāśītyā yute 'tīte samānām śatapañchake |
Gaupte dadāvado * * 11

What Mr. Fleet means to say is that if you have an adjective at the beginning of the second half of a śloka while the substantive which it qualifies is at the end of the first half, it is an irregularly detached place which *any* skilful composer will avoid; and if the substantive is further off it is of course worse. But in the Bhagavadgītā we have * * mahatīm chamām | vyūḍhām Drupadaputreṇa &c. || I. 3; * * prakṛitīm viddhi me parām | jivabhūtām mahābāho &c. || VII. 5. In Manu we have esha vo'bhihito dharmo brāhmaṇasya chaturvidhaḥ | puṇyo'kshayaphalaḥ &c. || VI. 97; āptūḥ sarveshu varṇeshu kṛyāḥ | kṛyeshu sūkṣhṇāḥ | sarvadharmavidolubdhāḥ &c. || VIII. 67. In Kālidāsa's Raghuvamśa we have * * pātyuḥ prāgvamśavāsināḥ | anan-yajāneḥ saivāsīd &c. || XV. 61; * * sa dadarsā taponidhīm | anvāsitam Arundhatyā &c. || I. 56. And instances might be multiplied to any extent. Mr. Fleet's objection therefore is simply imaginary. If arguments such as these are allowable, what is there to prevent their being used against the reading *Gaupte* also, supposing we were to find the plate again and actually to see the word there. Even as against that you might say that the adjective is in an irregularly detached place and that *Gaupte* must be the name of a village.

In spite, however, of criticism of this nature, there can be no question that the date of the Morvī grant as a Gupta date is as reliable as any of the others given above, and as it is more reasonable to take the eclipse therein mentioned as the one that occurred in Śaka 826 expired than as that of 827 expired, it shows that we have to add 241 to a completed not current Gupta year to arrive at the corresponding completed Śaka year, and that Mr. Fleet's theory has no basis whatever to stand on.

The third of the above dates 927 Valabhī corresponds, according to Mr. Dikshit's calculations, to 1167 Śaka expired. Here we have to add 240 to the Gupta-Valabhī year instead of 241 and the date presents a serious difficulty. Mr. Fleet has shown that the Gupta-Valabhī year did not begin on the 1st of Kārttika or Mārgaśīrṣa*

* Mr. Fleet proves the point with reference to these two months only from the initial dates of some of the cyclic years. But it can be proved generally that the Gupta and the Śaka year began in the same month or the same day more easily. When the years of two eras do not begin on the same day, we have to add a certain number to the year expressed in one during one part of the year to convert it to the corresponding year of the other, and add the same number increased by one during the other part. Thus Śaka 1810 ca.

and takes the 1st of Chaitra as its initial date like that of the Śaka year, and it is to a current year according to that reckoning that we have to add 241 to convert it into the corresponding Śaka year completed. But the Gupta-Valabhī year in this inscription, he thinks, began, like the Southern Vikrama year, with the first of Kārttika. The month given in the inscription is Phālguna which is one of the months that follow Kārttika. The year of the inscription he supposes became 927 on the 1st of Kārttika; and before that it was 926 and would have continued to be 926 till Phālguna had it not been for this southern reckoning. With this 926 we have no difficulty, for by adding 241 to it we get 1167. But in the other Verāval inscription of Valabhī 945 the reckoning is according to Mr. Fleet himself distinctly northern, that is, the Gupta-Valabhī year there given was one that began like the Śaka on the 1st of Chaitra. How is it possible then that at the same place about 18 years before, the southern Vikrama scheme should have been applied to the Gupta-Valabhī date of this inscription? Mr. Fleet answers the question by saying, "the explanation, however, is perhaps to be found in the supposition that the inscription was prepared under the personal direction of a pilgrim from Gujarāt, who had brought a Gujarāt almanac with him." That is supposing too much indeed, to save a theory. The inscription was prepared under the direction of (1) a pilgrim, (2) a pilgrim from Gujarāt, and moreover (3) a pilgrim who had brought a Gujarāt almanac! We have no right whatever to make any one of these suppositions without a particle of evidence to support it, much less the three together.

According to my view, however, the discrepancy in the date can easily be reconciled. I have shown in my second note and mentioned above that though dates are very often given in completed years, still sometimes

this side of the country had 78 added to it from 1st Chaitra to about the end of Mārgaśirṣa and 79 thereafter up to the end of Phālguna to convert it to the corresponding Christian year. The day in the Eraṇ Gupta date is Āśāḍha, Ś. 13, in that of Vorāval, Āśāḍha, Kr. 13, in those with the cycloic years, Kārttika Ś. 3, Chaitra Ś. 2, Māgha Kr. 3, and Chaitra Ś. 13, and in the Morvi grant, Phālguna Ś. 5; and in all these cases we have to add 241 to convert the year to the corresponding Śaka *past*, and not 242 in any case up to the 12th month from Chaitra. Hence the Gupta and the Śaka years began in the same month, and, since we have Chaitra Ś. 2 in one case and Chaitra Ś. 13 in another, on the same day, as the Śaka year begins on the 1st of Chaitra.

they are given in current years. If in accordance with the evidence of this usage we suppose that 927 was a current year, the expired year is 926; and by adding 241 to it we get the corresponding year 1167 expired, arrived at by the astronomical calculation. This explanation will not agree with Mr. Fleet's theory; for he adds 241 to a current Gupta-Valabhī to arrive at a completed Śaka. Here then, there is another piece of evidence that favours my view and goes entirely against Mr. Fleet's view.

The same is the case with the fourth date. Valabhī $330 + 240 = 570$. Mr. Fleet has to suppose a change of the original reckoning of the Gupta-Valabhī year and make it begin *in this case* on the 1st of Kārttika. But if we take 330 as the current year and 329 as the completed year, we have $329 + 241 = 570$, where we apply Alberuni's equation.

The question then stands thus:—We have to add 241, the equation given by Alberuni, to the date-years in inscriptions Nos. 1, 2 and 5, and in the four in which *samvatsaras* of the twelve-year cycle occur, to convert them to the corresponding completed Śaka year arrived at by the astronomical calculation. Mr. Fleet says the years in the inscriptions are current, and the reason is that it is natural they should be so. My view is that they are expired years, and the reasons are:—1st, the Hindu's usual, but not invariable, idea of a date; 2nd, the usage proved by me formerly for the Śaka dates and now for the Vikrama dates, though this era is not used for astronomical processes; 3rd, the unlikelihood of Alberuni's using the expired year in giving the Śaka date and the current year in giving the corresponding Gupta-date, and the proper interpretation of Alberuni's statement. 4th.—The eclipse mentioned in the Morvī grant when identified with that of 826 Śaka expired confirms my view and disproves Mr. Fleet's. If, however, it is identified with that of 827 Śaka expired, it strengthens Mr. Fleet's view and weakens mine, but cannot disprove it against the mass of other positive evidence. And my identification is more reasonable and natural, since in that case the interval between the gift and the issuing of the charter is three months and four days, while it is nine months and four days according to Mr. Fleet's identification. 5th.—The date No. 3 above admits of an easy explanation in harmony with known usage according to my theory; according to Mr. Fleet's theory, most improbable suppositions have to be made. The same is the case with date No. 4. Thus, the whole weight of the evidence

is decidedly in my favour; and thus the Gupta year to which we add 241 to arrive at an expired Śaka year is a past year, i.e., THE ADDITION OF 241 TURNS A PAST GUPTA INTO A PAST ŚAKA AND A CURRENT GUPTA INTO A CURRENT ŚAKA. And thus Gupta 0 *expired*, i.e., 1 *current*, corresponds to Śaka 241 *expired* and 242 *current*; and the year previous to Gupta 0 expired or 1 current corresponds to Śaka 240 expired i.e., 241 current; and thus THE EPOCH OF THE GUPTA ERA is 318-19 A.D. and not 319-20 A.D. as determined by Mr. Fleet, and its first year was 319-20 A.D.

Mr. Fleet claims for his Mandasor inscription "the final settlement of the question" of the initial date of the Gupta-Valabhi era. I am of opinion that if Alberuni's statement and Colonel Tod's Verāval inscription do not settle it, the Mandasor inscription cannot. For the date 493 occurring in that inscription is referred to the event of the *Gaṇasthiti* of the Mālavas. What this event was exactly and when it took place we do not know. In that unknown year 493 reigned Kumāragupta as a paramount sovereign. His average date is 113 of an unknown era, so that the equation is $113 \pm x$ (years of the Christian era) $= 493 \pm y$ (years of the Christian era), that is, we have to determine the value of one unknown quantity by means of another unknown quantity, which cannot be done. If, however, we know the value of x , i.e., the epoch of the Gupta era, we shall from that determine that of y , i.e., the epoch of the Mālava era, and *vice versa*. Dr. Peterson, referring to Oldenberg and myself, held it to be already certain that the Gupta era began in 319 A.D. and arrived therefore at the conclusion that the Mālava era was the Vikrama era.* Mr. Fleet assumes the truth of the latter and arrives from it at the epoch of the former (p. 125, Intr.). But if we do not know either we can come to no conclusion. However, so much can be said in favour of Mr. Fleet's view, that of the hypothetical proposition 'if the Mālava era is the Vikrama era, then the Gupta era began about 319 A.D.,' the antecedent clause is probably true; wherefore the conclusion is that the consequent clause is also probably true. Thus the Mandasor inscription, at the most, adds to the probability of the statement that the

* It is hardly fair to Dr. Peterson that Mr. Fleet should have made no allusion whatever to the fact that he (Dr. Peterson) had read the Mandasor inscription before him, and had quoted the verse in which the date is given, showing that we have in it a Vikrama date before 544 A.D., and that Ferguson's theory must be abandoned.

Gupta era began in 319-20, but cannot confer certainty on it, if it did not possess it before, *i.e.*, cannot finally settle the question. It is settled by the statement of Alberuni and by Colonel Tod's inscription, and the details in some of the other inscriptions confirm the conclusion arrived at therefrom, that is, are consistent with it and do not go against it. But Alberuni's authority had been set aside and the information given by Colonel Tod's inscription had been misconstrued; and the current of opinion that had set in against the true epoch of the era as derived from these two sources was so strong that many scholars had come to believe that the initial date 166-67 A.D. assigned to the era by General Cunningham was true. I therefore endeavoured in my note on the Gupta era to draw attention again to these two sources, and show how the question was not left doubtful at all by them, and how the information derived from them was consistent with all that we knew about the Gupta and the other dynasties of the early centuries of the Christian era. The details of the dates in some of the inscriptions I went into only with the object of showing that they were not opposed to the information derived from Alberuni and the Varāval inscription. I used General Cunningham's tables of the years of the twelve-year cycle; and though in two of the four cases, and in one more with a corrected date, I arrived at the conclusion wanted, still I forgot that the Christian years in General Cunningham's tables were arrived at by uniformly adding 78 to an expired Śaka year, while I added 79 because it suited the purpose. General Cunningham's tables I find do not give the cyclic years mentioned in the four inscriptions. Mr. Fleet has gone fully into the details of all the inscriptions with the assistance of a competent and zealous Hindu astronomer, Mr. Shankar B. Dikshit, and has materially contributed to the elucidation of the question by bringing together and verifying the whole evidence; and though I cannot agree with him in several of his conclusions, or approve of his treatment of the most vital matters, still the materials that he has placed before us deserve our acknowledgment. I must, however, observe with reference to Mr. Dikshit's theory of cyclic years reckoned from one heliacal rising of Jupiter to another with unequal divisions of the Nakshatras, that though it agrees with the four inscriptions and gives the correct *samvatsaras*, still it is a question whether an astronomical year of 400 days that did not correspond with the usual luni-solar year could have been used for the purposes of recording dates by ordinary people.

Note.—In connection with the examination of the claims of the Mandasor inscription I have had to read Mr. Fleet's transcript and translation of it and find the following errors and omissions in both:—

P. 84, ll. 5-6 of translation.—Mr. Fleet translates चापप्रसादक्षमैः by "able to counteract curses." Now, this is an adjective of मुनिभिः or 'saints' who are spoken of as 'rich in strict religious austerities (तीव्रतपोधनैः)'. To such it is usual in Sanskrit literature and according to Hindu ideas to attribute the power of injuring or destroying one by a curse, and doing good by benedictions. The simple power of counteracting a curse is too low for them. Hence the proper translation is 'able to curse and confer favours,' 'able to injure by a curse and confer favours by a blessing.'

P. 84, ll. 25-26. We have here "decorative ear-ornaments," which is a translation of मण्डवत्स, taken as in apposition with त्रुह in the compound पुष्पावनम्रतरुमण्डवत्सकायाः which qualifies भूनेः. Ear-ornaments are always decorative and it involves a tautology to call them decorative again. Besides though the Dictionaries give 'ornament' as one of the senses of मण्ड, still it is not the usual sense of the word; मण्डन is what we find in that sense. On looking into the photograph of the inscription I find that मण्ड must be read as खण्ड. The letter which Mr. Fleet reads as म is more like the last letter in the third line of the inscription and the thirteenth in the seventh line, each of which is ख. The upper vertical stroke to the right hand of the loop of the letter which must be a flaw in the stone is apt to mislead one into taking the letter as म; but it will be seen that, in spite of it, the letter looks far different from the real म which we have in many places. तरुखण्ड is an expression that frequently occurs and means 'a collection of trees;' so that the whole expression means 'which has for ear-ornaments, the collection of trees weighed down with flowers.'

P. 85, ll. 8 ff. Mr. Fleet here translates "other long buildings on the roofs of the houses, with arbours in them, are beautiful,—being like the lofty summits of Kailāsa, * * (and) being adorned with groves of waving plantain-trees." Being curious to know when I first read it what these long buildings on the roofs of the houses, adorned with groves of waving plantain-trees could be, I turned to the transcript and found that here Mr. Fleet had mistranslated the expression दीर्घवलभीनि which occurs in the half-stanza कैलासतुङ्गशिखरप्रतिमानि चान्यान्याभान्ति दीर्घवलभीनि सवेदिकानि at the end of the sixth line of the inscription. He takes दीर्घवलभीनि as a Karmadhāraya, अन्यानि as an adjective qualifying it, and makes it the nominative of the verb आभान्ति. But वलभी is feminine, never neuter; and still it is so here according to Mr. Fleet's way of taking it. Besides, when अन्यानि is connected with the long *Valabhis*, the question arises, why does he speak of these long buildings on the roofs of houses as 'other.' Did he speak of them in the last śloka?

No. दीर्घबलभानि should be taken as a Bahuvrihi meaning दीर्घा बलभयो वासु those 'in which there are long rooms on the roof, and construed as an adjective of गृहाणि occurring in the last stanza, and to be understood or supplied here in connection with the word भवन्यानि. And so we have, 'And other (houses) having long rooms on the roofs are beautiful, &c., being adorned with groves of waving plantain-trees.' बलभि is according to Jagaddhara सौधोपरिकुटि 'a room on the top of a palace,' such a one as that from the window of which Mālatī used to see Mādhava passing by the road below. The groves of waving plantain-trees were thus not in the rooms on the roof but in the houses which had these rooms.

P. 85, ll. 19-20. The word बुद्धि in l. 2-3, p. 82 (transcript) has not been translated. Freedom "from the excitement of surprise" was, according to Mr. Fleet's translation, one of the virtues of the Brahmins of Daśapura. Similarly, "being never carried away by astonishment" was a virtue in Bandhuvārman, l. 20, p. 86. Now, freedom from surprise or astonishment is never found in the catalogue of the possible virtues of a hero; but freedom from arrogance or humility is; and the word translated by Mr. Fleet as "surprise" in one place, and "astonishment" in another is स्मयिते: in the one case, and स्मय in the other. He would have found from any ordinary Dictionary that स्मय means 'pride' or 'arrogance' also, and that is its usual sense. Has Mr. Fleet not seen at all the first line of the second or opening stanza of Bhartrihari's Vairāgya Śataka बोद्धारो मत्सरघस्ताः प्रभवः स्मयदूषिताः । ?

P. 85, l. 24. Here Mr. Fleet, in his translation, speaks of the science of archery as pleasing to the ear. Though he supplies "in which the twanging of the bow is" between "archery" and "pleasing," still this is by no means proper and cannot be. In the transcript Mr. Fleet's reading of the line with his corrections is भवणसुभगं धानुर्व्येद्यं कृतं परिनिष्ठिताः and his translation "Some of them (*became*) excessively well acquainted with the science of archery pleasing to the ear." Here Mr. Fleet supplies the anusvāra on ग, the आ in धा, and the anusvāra on य, and thus brings in an accusative which is not governed by anything and is therefore ungrammatical. What is stated in the stanza is that some of the emigrants to Daśapura devoted themselves to a certain calling, some to another, and so on. In this line as read by Mr. Fleet there is no word which expresses 'some.' Still he begins his translation of it by "some of them" without enclosing the expression within brackets to show that it is supplied by him. Without such an expression the line looks awkward; and it cannot be supplied or understood by the rules of grammar. All these difficulties, however, disappear when we have the true reading of the original inscription before us. That true reading is भवणसुभगे गान्धर्व्येन्ये कृतं परिनिष्ठिताः । The सु of सुभगे is not distinct. Mr. Fleet's य is distinctly न्य in the photo-lithograph, and the left hand stroke representing ए is also visible though it is not distinct; so that this is न्ये. What he reads

as घा is distinctly गा with the आ traceable though not distinct; his तु is distinctly न्ध; and his ज्ञे is ज्ञे, the second stroke necessary for ज्ञे being wanting. The ए on ग is not distinct, but must have originally existed in the little white space above, which represents a flaw in the stone. If we compare the present word with the गान्धर्व which occurs in the beginning of the seventh line and which Mr. Fleet has read properly, we shall have no doubt whatever that the true reading is that given by me. And now the sense is also right, for it is this—"Some were thoroughly conversant with Music (the art of the Gandharvas) which is agreeable to the ear."

P. 85, l. 31. Being "possessed of charming wives" appears in Mr. Fleet's translation as one of the excellences of some of the settlers in Daśapura, along with wisdom and famous lineage. This could scarcely be an excellence in them, at least it is not so, according to Indian notions. Besides मनोज्ञवधव; which is Mr. Fleet's reading is quite ungrammatical. As a Bahuvrīhi adjective qualifying अन्ये it ought to be मनोज्ञवधुकाः by Pāṇini V, 4, 153. This reading therefore is not correct. But the word is illegible in the copy of the inscription; and I cannot say for certain what it must be. It may be मनोज्ञवपुषः 'having charming bodies or forms' or मनोज्ञविभवाः 'possessed of pleasing prosperity.' The former is more probable.

P. 85, ll. 36-37. मृदुभिः in the second pāda and the whole third pāda स्वकुलतिलकभूतैर्मुक्तरागैरुदारैः of a stanza in line 11 of the inscription have not been translated.

P. 86, l. 13. Here we have "who fulfilled his promises to the miserable and distressed." Virtue consists in fulfilling one's promise to everybody and not to persons in certain conditions only. Besides, it is not the fulfillment of a promise made to them that we should expect to find spoken of in connection with the miserable and the afflicted. Mr. Fleet's reading which he thus translates is कृपणातेवर्गसन्धाप्रदो. He does not find the आ of सन्धा in the original, but supplies it. सन्धाप्रद cannot mean 'he who fulfils his promise.' If it is a Sanskrit expression at all, it can only mean 'one who gives promises.' So that there is clearly some mistake here. If now we turn to the copy of the inscription, we shall find clearly न्त्व for Mr. Fleet's न्ध; so that the word is सान्त्व. सान्त्वप्रद is 'one who brings solace,' so that what the prince did was 'to bring solace to the miserable and the afflicted.'

P. 86, ll. 32-33. Mr. Fleet reads in line 17 of the inscription, रामासनाथरचने as an adjective of काले. As such the expression is unintelligible. For, 'it being necessary to take it as a Bahuvrīhi, it can only be dissolved as रामाभिः सनाथा रचना यस्मिन् i. e. 'that in which a [certain] arrangement or system is accompanied by women.' This means nothing. What arrangement can that be? What Mr. Fleet reads as च is clearly द. र is supplied by him as the letter is effaced in the original; but, certainly, we can as well supply भ and read the

expression as रामास्त्राद्युवद्विप्रतापसुभने i.e. 'that [time] in which there are lovely women in the houses,' i.e. when there is no separation between husband and wife. Mr. Fleet translates the next expression हरभास्कराद्युवद्विप्रतापसुभने by "which is agreeable with the warmth of the fire of the rays of the sun (*shining*) in the glens." Is the sun agreeably warm in the cold weather in the glens only, and nowhere else? Why should the word 'glens' be used then? The fact is Mr. Fleet forgets that हर means ईषद् 'little,' 'in a small degree,' 'moderate.' The sense of the expression will thus be 'which is agreeable with the moderated heat of the fire of the rays of the Sun.' And that the heat is moderated in the cold weather everybody knows.

P. 87, ll. 9-10. Mr. Fleet speaks here of "the close embrace of the large and beautiful and plump and bulky breasts and thighs of young men and (*their*) mistresses, completely under the influence of love." So, then, the breasts of young *men* were bulky, plump, and beautiful! Acquaintance with the descriptive manners and ideas of Sanskrit authors is not necessary to enable one to see that there is something wrong here. But if he does possess that, he will at once see that this must be a description of women and not of men as well. The original expression is स्मरवशगतुरुजजनवद्विभ्राज्जनाविपुलकान्तपीनीरु-स्तनजघनघनालिङ्गनम्, which is equivalent to स्मरवशगा ये तरुजनास्तै-र्वद्विभ्राज्जना ता अङ्गनाथ तासां विपुलकान्तपीनान्यूरुस्तनजघनानि तेषां घनमालि-ङ्गनम्। It is the young men who are "completely under the influence of love," and it is they who embrace the thighs, breasts, and hips, of their beloved wives, which are bulky, beautiful, and plump. In पीनीरु, the latter part must be taken as ऊरु meaning 'a thigh,' and not उरु in the sense of 'bulky,' as Mr. Fleet takes it. You have thus three limbs spoken of, those which are principally the object of description in the case of women, and there are three adjectives to qualify them to be taken in order. Or the three adjectives might be taken as qualifying each one of the three limbs.

I must here complain that a good many photo-lithographs of the inscriptions in Mr. Fleet's volume are illegible, and consequently of little use to scholars who wish to examine the inscriptions for themselves.

NOTE.

Since the preceding pages were ready for the Press, I had occasion to look into my old papers, when unexpectedly I found two impressions of the Morvi plate taken by Dr. Burgess, by beating a slip of thin and soft paper a little moistened into the letters by means of a small brush. In these impressions I do find an indentation on the left hand side of ग, which is the twelfth letter in the fourth line from the bottom, and a small faintly indented curve connecting it with the upper left hand

side flourish of the letter showing that the second stroke necessary for the syllable गौ did exist in the plate. There is thus no question whatever that the true reading is गौसे. As the original plate is not forthcoming, I have asked Dr. Peterson to take charge of these impressions as Secretary to the Bombay Asiatic Society, and deposit them in the Society's Museum, where they will be available for inspection.

ART. VIII.—*Phonology of the Vernaculars of Northern India.*¹ By RAMKRISHNA GOPAL BHANDARKAR,
M.A., Ph.D., HON. M.R.A.S.

WE have now traced the gradual decay of Sanskrit from the form in which it is presented to us in the oldest literary records, to that which it assumed in the Apabhraṃśa dialect. We have seen how words lost some of their vocal elements on account of the natural tendency of men to economize effort, as well as in consequence of the fact that the vocal organs of the people, who through historical accidents had to speak that language though it was not theirs, were untrained to utter the sounds of that language, and that they imported into it some sounds to which they themselves were previously accustomed. We have also observed the effects of the operation of the law of analogy in simplifying the grammar of the language—an operation, the range of which, in consequence of the ignorance of those same foreigners, was very extensive. The declensions and conjugations gradually lost their variety and became reduced to one or two types by the generalization of the rules originally applicable only to the nouns and verbs frequently used in ordinary intercourse. At the same time the terminations themselves of some of the cases, tenses, and moods came through numberless analogies to have the same or similar forms, and their vocal body gradually became attenuated and in some instances they were altogether dropped. Thus these processes of simplification were carried on much farther than was consistent with intelligibility in ordinary intercourse. Hence the necessity arose of inventing new modes of expression for those relations which came to be imperfectly expressed or ceased to be expressed in the old way. As observed in the last lecture such new expressions are to be met with in the Apabhraṃśa dialect. If the Prākṛits and the Apabhraṃśa which we have examined really represent the speech of the Indian people at certain periods of their past history, we should expect to find a relation of continuity between them and the prevailing speech of modern times. The words and grammatical forms in the modern vernaculars should either be the same as those existing in those dialects, or should be easily deducible from them by laws which we have observed to be in operation; and if in the Apabhraṃśa the grammatical forms came to be in a condition in which

¹ Continuation of Bombay Philological Lectures. See Note No. XLIII—Vol. XVI. p. 245 of 1885.

reconstruction was necessary, and if accordingly it was begun, we should find it carried on much further in the vernaculars and on principles used in the *Apabhraṃśa* and the older dialects and out of materials existing in them. We will therefore proceed now to the examination of the vernaculars with a view to trace this continuity.

The varieties of speech prevailing in Northern India at the present day are almost innumerable. If even a few peculiarities were to be regarded as giving individuality to a language, the number of dialects spoken in this part of the country would exceed even the proverbial fifty-six. But they may be divided into classes on the principle of resemblance; and generally the dialects spoken in the adjoining provinces are so alike each other that they may be regarded as constituting one class or even one language. Thus we have nine principal languages; and starting from ourselves, and going northwards, first on the western side of the country and then turning to the east and south-east, I may state them as the *Marāṭhī*, the *Gujarātī*, the *Sindhī*, including the *Kachehī*, the *Panjābī*, the *Kāśmīrī*, the *Hindī*, the *Nepālī*, the *Bangālī*, and the *Oriyā*. Of these the *Kāśmīrī* and the *Nepālī* have not yet been studied, and no grammars or books are available. Hence my observations will not extend to them. Each of these has its dialects; but those of some, such as the *Gujarātī* and the *Sindhī*, differ from the main language in unimportant particulars. The same is the case with the *Marāṭhī*, except in some corners of the *Maratha* country. But in these there are five dialects differing in a great many important particulars from the main *Marāṭhī*. Thus, the *Goanese* prevails in *Goa*; the *Mālvaṇī*, my own native tongue, and the *Sāvantvādī*, both of which, notwithstanding some minor differences, may be considered as one, are spoken in the *Mālva*, *Vingorla*, and *Sāvantvādī* districts; the *Chitpāvnī* is used only by the caste of *Chitpāvan Brahmins* in the district about *Ratnāgiri*; the *Salsetti* is spoken by the original inhabitants of that island and of *Bombay*; and the *Khāndeśī*, which is a mixture of *Marāṭhī* and *Gujarātī*, and contains to an appreciable degree a barbarous element, probably from a *Bheel* source, prevails in *Khāndeś*.

The *Hindī* has a great many dialects. Two at least may be distinguished among the variety of speech prevalent in *Rajputana*, the *Mewāri* spoken in *Mewar* and the adjoining districts, and the *Mārwāri* which prevails in *Marwar*, *Jessmere*, and the other provinces. These, as may be inferred from their geographical position, are midway be-

tween the Gujarâtî and the Hindî dialects of the North, displaying some of the peculiar characteristics of both. Further north, we have the Braj prevailing in the country about Mathura, and to the east the Kanojî. There is not much difference between these. The language of the history of 84 Vaishnavas and other books of the Vallabhâ-châryan sects which is ordinarily supposed to be the Braj, has grammatical forms identical with those mentioned by a recent grammarian as peculiar to the Kanojî. There is a good deal of confusion as regards this matter, the characteristics of one being found in the printed books together with those belonging to another. Then further north, we have the Garhawâlî and the Kumaonî spoken in the provinces of Garhwal and Kumaon. To the east, we have the Avadhî or the dialect of the province of Avadha or Ayodhyâ, and to the south of this again is the Rewâî-spoken in the State of Rewâ. Further to the east is the Bhojpurî, and kindred dialects prevailing in Bihâr and the adjacent districts on the confines of Bengal. The old literature of the Hindî is principally written in two dialects, the Braj, and what is called the Pûrbî. Sûradâsa's works, Behârilâl's Satasai, and others, are written in the former; and to these I may add the Vallabha works I have already mentioned. The Râmâyana and Tulasîdâsa's other works are written in the latter. The chief distinction between the idioms of Sûradâsa and Tulasîdâsa appears to me to be that the latter uses a great many grammatical forms which are old, and from which those used by the former are derived. In this respect Pûrbî might be considered to be a very old form of the Braj. But there are a few other distinctions, though it is questionable whether they are enough to justify the Pûrbî being considered an independent dialect. The language of Kabîra's Raiminî and Sâkhîs presents a few peculiarities found in neither of the above. But the characteristics of Sûradâsa and Tulasîdâsa are also to be found in it; so that if we leave out of consideration the other works of Kabîra in which there is probably another variety of speech, the dialect used by these Hindî poets may be considered to be the same. This has come to be regarded as the poetic dialect, and most of the other Hindî poets have written in it. Its modern representative is the Braj, in which the commentaries on Tulasîdâsa's, Kabîra's, and Behârilâl's works, and on the tenth book of the Bhâgavata that I have seen, are written. This, then is the Hindî literary dialect. The language, however, which is used as the medium of instruction in the Government schools in the North-Western Provinces, and in which the books published by the Educa-

tional Department are written, is now regarded as the Standard Hindi, and its grammatical structure is identical with that of the Urdu spoken by the Mussalmans. This is rather the dialect in which the Hindus of the different provinces in Northern India communicate with each other, than that which they speak in their own provinces. The Panjābī has also several dialects, but little is known about them. Oriyī resembles the Bangālī in so many respects that one of them may be considered a dialect of the other. The similarity between the Hindi and the Panjābī is also very great. I will now give short specimens of these dialects.

1. Marāṭhī :—

कित्येक लोक मुत्सद्दी यार्णी पदर पसरोन प्रार्थना आईसाहेबांची केली जे तुझी अभिप्रवेश केलिया नंतर संपादिलें राज्य लयास आज्ञा जातें प्राण महाराज काहीं देवीत नाहीत हा प्रकार घडतो साहाजी महाराजांचें व सिवाजी महाराजांचें नांव जर्गी नाहीस होतें सर्वावर साहेबीं वृष्टि देवून राज्यांस बोसगास घेऊन साहेबीं भूमि न घेतां मानस कठिण करून राहावें। हें काम करून गेलिया वंशक्षय महाराजांच्या वडिलींच केला ऐसें जर्गी प्रसिद्धता दिसतें तेव्हां आई साहेबांस राहविलें।

(*From an old Bakhara or Chronicle of Śivājī.*)

Some counsellors supplicated the lady-mother in an humble attitude saying: 'If you will burn yourself by fire, the kingdom which has been acquired goes to ruin this very day; and it will happen that the king will not bear life; the name of Śahājī Mahārāj and Śivājī Mahārāj will not remain in the world. Therefore, your ladyship, looking to all these things should make the king sit in your lap (protect him), and not resorting to fire, render your mind firm, and live. If you do this (burn yourself), it will plainly appear to all the world that you destroyed the race of the Mahārāj.' Thus they prevailed on her to live.

2. Gujarātī :—

इमयतीने तो महा आश्चर्य लाग्युं अने भ्रान्ति पडी के आ ते स्वप्न के साधु। एका अनेक विचार करती चालेछे एवामां एक अशोक वृक्ष सीठो त्यां हीन इमयती आवीने कहेछे के ओ प्रियदर्शन अशोक तारा नामनो महिमा राखी मारा झोकनो नाश करी सत्यनानी था। पण कोण उत्तर आपे।

(*From Mr. Mansukharāma's Nala-Damayantī.*)

Damayantī felt greatly astonished and was in doubts whether it was a reality or a dream. While moving on, engaged in various such thoughts, she saw an Aśoka tree. Going there she said: "O lovely Aśoka, having regard to the greatness of thy name, destroy my śoka

(sorrow) and deserve that name." But who would answer?

3. Sindhi:—

गिरनार कोटमे राइ डिआचु नाले हिकिडो पातिघाइ हो। तहिजे भेणु फकीरलां पुर्बो साईं मुखे पुहु डे। फकीर हुनखे चिओ पुहु तोखे थींरो पर राइ डिआचजो सिरु वर्डीरो। हुन चिओ उहो पुहु ई बनि चिओ जो मुजे भाउजो सिरु बडे। पर फकीरजो चवणु चिओ सो दरे की न। थोरे घने दिहाडे माइ-अ पुहु जण्यो।

(From the story of Rāi Dīācha in Major Stack's Grammar.)

There was a Pātisāha (king) of the name of Rāi Dīācha. His sister begged of a Fakir: "Sire, give me a son." The Fakir said to her: "A son will be (born) to thee, but he will cut off the head of Rāi Dīācha." She said, "accursed be (*lit.* fall into a wilderness) the son who should cut off my brother's head." But the Fakir's word cannot prove vain. In a few days the woman gave birth to a son.

4. Panjabi:—

तां केर बाबे नानकजी कहिआ हे पंडतजी तूं सुण ब्राहमणखतरीवा धरम ज-नेकते रहिवा है या भले करमांते रहिदा है। सुण पंडत जे जनेऊ पावे भर बुरे कर-न करे तां उह ब्राहमणखतरी रहिवा है या चंडाल हुवा है। जां इह गल्ल सीशुरु बाबेजी कही तां जितने लोक बैठे से सभ हैरान हो गए। तां कहिण लग्गे ऐ सीपरने-खरजी अजां इह बालक है अते कैसीआं बालां करवा है।

(From the Janamasākhī.)

Then again Bābe Nānakajī said: "O Pandit, hear. Is the religious holiness of Brahman and Kshatriyas preserved by the sacred thread or by good deeds? Hear, O Pandit, if one who is invested with the sacred thread does wicked deeds, does he remain a Brahman or Kshatriya or become a Chāṇḍāla." When Śrī Guru Bābejī spoke thus, all the people that were sitting there were astonished. Then they began to exclaim: "O God, he is still but a child, and how wonderfully he speaks!"

5. Hindī:—

इतना कह उसने बहुतेरे उपाय हाथ निकालनेको किये पर एक भी काम न आया। निदान सांस रुककर पेट फट गया। तो पछाड खाय के गिरा तब उसके छरीरसे लोह नरीकी भांति वह निकला। तिस समै ग्वालबाल आय आय देखने लगे औ श्रीकृष्णचंद आगे आय बनमें एक कदम की छांहमले खडे हुए।

(Premasāgura, chap. 38.)

Having said so much, he made many attempts to throw out his (Krishna's) hand, but none was of any use. At last, he was suffocated and his belly burst out. Then he fell down, and blood flowed from his body in torrents. At that time the cowherd boys came one after another and began to see; and Śrī Krishna went forward and stood in the shade of a Kadamba tree in the forest.

6. Braj :—

जब सब ब्रजवासीनने सुनी जो श्रीदेवमदनको गाय बहोत प्रिय है तब सबनने मिलिके यह विचार कियौ जो जाके गाय होय सो सब एक एक तथा दोय दोय भेट करो। और श्रीगिरिराजके भासपास जो चौबीस गाम हैं तिनके पाससौ सब ब्रजवासी मिलिके एक एक दोइ दोइ गाइ भेट करवाई। और बह ठहरी जो बीस गाममें जाके प्रथम गाय ब्यावै सो बछिया तो देवमदनको भेट करै। ऐसै सहस्रावधि गाय श्रीजीके भेट भई। तब दूध इही माखन और मठा सब घरकी गाबनका आरोगे।

(*From the Story of the Manifestation of Govardhananāthji.*)

When all the inhabitants of Vraja heard that Devadamana was greatly fond of cows, they all joined and resolved that all who had cows should each present one or two. And the inhabitants of Vraja joined and caused each of the twenty-four villages about the mountain (Govardhana) to present one or two cows each. And it was resolved that in the twenty villages he whose cow should first calve should present the calf to Devadamana. In this way thousands of cows were presented to the Prosperous one. Then he used the milk, curds, butter, and whey of the cows in his home.

7. Bangālī :—

तबे शुन्ने? आर बत्सर जखन आमि पाला ज्वर भुगते छिनु-दिबाराबि बिछानाब पडे थाकिनुम-उठिया रांडाइबार शक्ति छिल ना, से समय स्वामी आसिबा उपस्थित हलेन। स्वामी केमन ज्ञान हओया अवधि देखि नाइ, मेये मानुषेर स्वामी न्याय धन नाइ। मने करिलाम दुइ वण्ड काछे बसे कथा कहिले रोगेर बन्धना कम हवे। सिद्धि बल्ले प्रत्यय जाबे ना—तिनि आमार काछे रांडाइयाइ भमनि बल्लेन षोल बत्सर हइल तोमाके बिबाह करे गियाछि—तुमि आमार एक स्त्री—टाकार इरकारे तोमार निकटे आसितेछि—शीघ्र जाब—तोमार बापके बल्लाम तिति तो फांकि दिलेन—तोमार हातेर गहना खुलिया राओ।

(*From Peary Chand's Alâler gharer dulâla—a Kulîna marriage.*)

Will you hear then? That year at the time when I was suffering from intermittent fever, remained lying in bed day and night, and

had no strength to rise and stand, my lord (husband) came. I had not seen what sort of a man my husband was since I ceased to be an infant. Nothing is more valuable to a woman than her husband. I had thought that my suffering would become alleviated, if he sat by my side for a few minutes (*lit.* two dandas) and spoke with me. Dear sister, you will not believe me when I say that, as soon as he stood by my side, he said, "it is sixteen years since I married you and went away. You are one of my wives. I come to you, being in need of money, and will go back soon. I spoke to your father, but he put me off. Do pull out the ornament in your arm (round the wrist), and give it to me."

8. Oriyī:—

गोटि ए मशा एक षण्डगुङ्ग उरि बसि अहङ्गारे आपणाकु भारी गुप्ति षण्डकु कहिला भारे षण्ड आम्भ बसिवाह जेने तुम्भकु भारी लागे तेबे कह आम्भे अन्य स्थानकु उडि जाउं। ए कथा गुप्ति वृष कहिला भारे मशा तु जे आम्भ उपर बसि-अच्छु ए कथार डेर सुझा पाइ नाई।

(*Fables published by the Calcutta School Book Society.*)

A certain gnat sitting on a horn of an ox, and with pride thinking itself heavy, said, "O ox, if in consequence of my sitting, you feel heavily weighted, tell me, and I will fly away to another spot." Hearing these words the ox said, "O gnat, I had not even the slightest idea that you were sitting on me."

In these extracts there are a great many words which on examination will be found to be derived from Sanskrit through the Prākṛits; in other words, the vernacular forms will be found to be the same as, or further developments of, the Prākṛit forms.

Thus we have in No. 1.

किति, Pr. केतिभ or कितिभ, Skr. क्रियत् with the termination इक changed to इभ

बा of बाणी, Pr. अभ or अय in अभं nom. sing. Skr. अयम्.

पसर, Pr. पसर, Skr. प्रसर in प्रसरति.

के of केली, from Pr. कभ or कय, Skr. कृत्, ल, being a termination often used in the Prākṛits.

जे, Pr. जभ, Skr. यक्रत्, क being a suffix used in the Prākṛits generally, and sometimes in Sanskrit also.

गुम्मी, Apabh. गुम्हई, Pr. गुम्मे or गुम्हण, Skr. such a form as गुम्हके, by analogy, for गुम्हन्.

आज, Pr. अज्ज, Skr. अय.

जा, of जातें, Pr. जा, Skr. या.

काहीं, Pr. केहिं, Skr. केभिः.

देव of देवीत, Pr. ठाव, Skr. स्थाप in स्थापयति.

हा, Apabhr. एहो, Pr. एसओ, Skr. एषकः.

घड of घडतो, Pr. घड, Skr. घट in घटते.

नांव, Pr. नाम, Skr. नाम.

जग, Pr. जग, Skr. जगत्.

हो of होतें, Pr. हो, Skr. भव in भवति.

वर, Pr. उवरि, Skr. उपरि.

दे of देवून, Pr. दि as in दिण्ण, Skr. दत्त.

योसंग or ओसंग, Pr. उच्छङ्ग, Skr. उत्सङ्ग. The छ् of Sanskrit, Prākṛit, Hindi &c., is in Marāṭhī changed to स्.

वे of वेऊन and वेतां, Pr. वे as in वेचूण, Skr. गृह as in गृहीत्या.

न, Pr. and Skr. same.

कर of करून, Pr. कर as in करइ, Skr. करोति.

काम, Pr. कम्म, Skr. कर्म.

गे of गेलिया, Pr. गअ or गय, Skr. गत.

वडिल, Pr. वडू, Skr. वृद्ध, इल being a Prākṛit suffix.

ऐसैं, Apabhr. अइस, Pr. ईदिस, Skr. ईदृश.

दिस of दिसतें, Pr. दिस in दीसइ, Skr. इदृश्यते.

In No. 2.

तो, Apabhr. तउ, Pr. ताव, Skr. तावत्.

लाग, Pr. लग्ग, Skr. लग्न.

अने, Pr. अने ? Skr. अन्य.

पड, Pr. पड, Skr. पत् in पतति.

ते from such Pr. and Skr. forms as ते, तं, तेण or तेन &c.

के, Pr. कय or कअ, Skr. कक for the crude किमकक्.

साचुं, Apabhr. सच्चउं, Pr. सच्चअं, Skr. सत्त्वकम्.

एवो, Apabhr. एहु or एहउ and अइसो, Pr. इदिसो, Skr. ईदृशः.

कर as in No. 1.

चाल, Pr. चल, Skr. चल.

दीओ, Apabhr. दिहउ, Pr. दिहओ, Skr. इष्टकः.

र्यां, Pr. तहिं, Skr. तस्मिन्.

आव, from Pr. आअओ, Skr. आगतः.

कह, Pr. कह, Skr. कथ as in कथयति.

छे, Pr. आच्छइ, Skr. आस्ते.

तार of तारा, Apabhr. तुहार for तुहआर, तुह being the Skr. तुभ्यम् and आर, कार.

नाम, Pr. नाम, Skr. नाम.

राख, Pr. रक्ख, Skr. रक्ष.

मार of मारा, Apabhr. महार for महभार, मह being the Pr. for Skr.
मह्यम् and आर for कार.

था, Pr. था, Skr. स्था.

पण, Pr. पुणो, Skr. पुनः.

कोण, Pr. कउण, Skr. कः पुनः.

आप, Pr. अप्प, Skr. अर्प.

In No. 3.

ना of नाल, Pr. and Skr. नाम, ल being suffix.

हा Apabhr. हूअड, Pr. हूअओ, Skr. भूतः (भूतकः).

तहि of तहिजे, Pr. तेसि, Skr. तेषाम्.

भेणु, Pr. भइणी, Skr. भगिनी.

साई, Pr. सामी, Skr. स्वामी.

मू of मूखे, Apabhr. महु, Pr. मह, Skr. मह्यम्.

पुड, Pr. पुत्तो, Skr. पुत्रः.

तो of तोखे, Apabhr. तउ, Pr. तुह, Skr. तुभ्यम्.

इ, Pr. वा, Skr. हा.

राइ, Pr. राअ-राय-राआ, Skr. राजा.

सिर of सिरु, Pr. सिरं, Skr. शिरस.

वड, Pr. वडु, Skr. वर्ध.

भाड, Pr. भाडओ, Skr. भ्रातृकः.

चवण, from Pr. चव for Skr. वच.

यिअ, Pr. यिअ, Skr. स्थित.

सो, Pr. सो, Skr. सः.

की, Pr. कहि, Skr. कस्मिन्.

माइ, Pr. माइआ, Skr. मातृका.

योरे, यो from Pr. योअ, Skr. स्तोक. and र or ड, a suffix.

डिहाड, Apabhr. दिअहड, ड being a termination often used, Pr. दिअह,
Skr. दिवस.

अण, Pr. अण, Skr. जन of जनयति.

In No. 4.

तां, Pr. तहिं, Skr. तस्मिन्.

कह, as in No. 2.

तू, Pr. तुं, Skr. त्वम्.

सुण, Pr. सुण as in सुणइ, Skr. शुण as in शृणाति.

अनेऊ, Pr. अण्णोवीअ, Skr. यज्ञोपवीत.

हे, from अस Pr. and Skr.

भला, Apabhr. भल्लउ, Pr. भल्लओ, Skr. भद्रकः, *i.e.* भद्र with suffix क.
 ज, Pr. जे or जए, Skr. ये or यके.
 पाव in पावे, Pr. पाव, Skr. प्राप as in प्राप्नोति.
 अर, Pr. अवर, Skr. अपर.
 कर, as in Nos. 1 and 2.
 हु of हुंदा, as in No. 1.
 जां, Pr. जहिं, Skr. यस्मिन्.
 इह, Apabhr. एह, Pr. एस, Skr. एष.
 जित of जितने, Pr. जित्तिअ, Skr. यावत् with suffix इक.
 बैठा, Pr. उवइहओ, Skr. उपविष्टकः, *i.e.* उपविष्ट with suffix क.
 से, *plural* from Pr. सौ, Skr. सः.
 सभ, Pr. सब्ब, Skr. सर्व.
 गभा, Pr. गअओ, Skr. गतकः, *i.e.* गत with क.
 लग्ग, Pr. लग्ग, Skr. लग्न.
 अज of अजां, Pr. अज्ज, Skr. अद्य.
 कैस of कैसा, Apabh. कहस, Pr. कीहिस, Skr. कीदृश.
 बात, Pr. वत्त, Skr. वृत्त.

In No. 5.

इत of इतना, Pr. इत्तिअ, Skr. इयत् with इक.
 कह, as in Nos. 2 and 4.
 हाथ, Pr. हत्थ, Skr. हस्त.
 किय of किये, Pr. किअ, Skr. कृत.
 भी, Pr. वि, Skr. अपि.
 काम, as in No. 1.
 न, Pr. Skr. same.
 भाय of आया, Pr. आअअ, Skr. आगत.
 गय of गया, Pr. गअ, Skr. गत.
 तो as in No. 2.
 खा of खाय, Pr. खाअ, Skr. खाइ.
 लाह, Pr. लोहिअ, Skr. लाहित.
 वह, Pr. Skr. same.
 तिस, Pr. तस्स, Skr. तस्य.
 ग्वाल, Pr. गोआल or गोवाल, Skr. गोपाल.
 बाल, Pr. Skr. same.
 देख, Pr. देक्ख, Skr. द्रक्ष or दृक्ष.
 लग of लगे, as लाग in No. 2 and लग्ग in No. 4.
 औ, Pr. उअ, Skr. उत्त.
 आग of आगे, Pr. अग्ग, Skr. अय.

जा as in No. 1.

छाह, Pr. छाभा, Skr. छाया.

हुअ of हुए, as हो in No. 3.

In No. 6.

सब, Pr. सब्ब, Skr. सर्व.

सुन of सुनी, Pr. सुण, Skr. शृण.

गाब or गाइ, Pr. गावी, Skr. गाव as in गावम् &c.

मिल of मिलिकै, Pr. Skr. same.

किब as in No. 5.

ओ, Pr. ओओ, Skr. यक; i.e. य with the suffix क or अक.

हो of होब or होइ, as in No. 1.

सो, Pr. सो or सओ, Skr. सः or सकः i.e. स with क or अक.

होब or होइ, Pr. हुवे or हो, Skr. हे or हौ.

कर as in Nos. 1, 2 and 4.

ओर, Pr. अवर, Skr. अपर.

चौबीस, Pr. चउबीसा, Skr. चतुर्विंशति.

गाम, Pr. गाम, Skr. ग्राम.

है as in No. 4.

तिन of तिनके, Pr. ताण, Skr. तानाम्, by analogy, for तेषाम्.

पास, Pr. पस्त, Skr. पान्धे.

बह, Apabhr. एह, Pr. एस, Skr. एष.

ठहर of ठहरी, Pr. ठिर, Skr. स्थिर.

बीस, Pr. बीसा, Skr. विंशति.

डवा of ड्यावे, Pr. and Skr. वी.

बछ of बछिया, Pr. बच्छ, Skr. वस्त.

तो as in Nos. 2 and 5.

ऐसे as in No. 1

भूअ of भई, Pr. भूअ, Skr. भूत.

बूध, Pr. बुद्ध, Skr. बुध्.

बही, Pr. बहि. Skr. बधि.

माखन, Pr. मक्खण, Skr. मक्षण

मठ of मठा, Pr. मथ, Skr. मथ्य.

घर, Pr. घर, Skr. गृह.

In No. 7.

सुन of सुन्वे or सुनिवे, as सुण and सुन in Nos. 4 and 6.

आर, Pr. अवर, Skr. अपर.

आनि, Apabhr. अन्हइ, Pr. अन्हे, Skr. such a form as अस्मके or अस्मे for वयम्.

पान्ना, Pr. पद्माभ, Skr. पद्माव.

पड of पडे or पडिवा, as in No. 2.

उठ of उठिवा, Pr. उठा, Skr. उत्था.

आछि in छिल, छिनु &c., Pr. आच्छइ, Skr. आस्ने.

से, Pr. सो, Skr. सः.

आस of आसिवा, Pr. आगच्छ or आभच्छ, Skr. आगच्छ.

हो of हलेन or होलेन, as in Nos. 1, 4 and 6.

वेख of वेखि, as in No. 5.

नाइ, Pr. नाइ, Skr. नहि.

मन, Pr. मन, Skr. मनः.

बुइ, Pr. बुवे, Skr. ब्वे.

काच्छ of काच्छे, Pr. कच्छा, Skr. कक्षा.

बस of बसे, Pr. उवइस, Skr. उपविश.

कह, as in Nos. 2, 4, and 5.

बल or बोल, Pr. बोळ, Skr. बृ.

निनि, Pr. नाण, Skr. तानाम्, by analogy for तेषाम्.

षोल, Pr. सोलह, Skr. षोडश.

तोमा of तोमाके, Apabhr. तुम्हहं, Pr. तुम्हाणं, Skr. तुष्माणं, by analogy for युष्माकम्.

कर as in Nos. 1, 2, 4 and 6.

गे or गय of गियाछि as in Nos. 1 and 5.

जा of जाब, as in Nos. 1 and 5.

हात, Pr. हथ्य, Skr. हस्त.

तो as in Nos. 2, 5, and 6.

दि as दे in No. 1.

In No. 8.

माशा, Pr. मसअ, Skr. मशक.

बस of बसि, as in No. 7.

आपणा, Pr. अप्पण, Skr. आत्मन as in आत्मना &c.

बुझ of बुझि, Pr. बुज्झ, Skr. बुध्य as in बुध्यति.

कह as in Nos. 2, 4, 5 and 6.

आम्मे, Apabhr. अम्हइ, Pr. अम्हे, Skr. such a form as अस्मके or अस्मे, for वयम्, as in No. 7.

तुम्भ as तुम्ही in No. 1.

लाग, as in No. 2, and as लग्ग and लग in Nos. 4 and 5.

उड of उडि, Pr. उडु, Skr. उडु as in उडुयते.

जा as in Nos. 1, 5, and 7.

गुण as in Nos. 4, 6, and 7.

हु, as हू in No. 4.

पाअ of पाह, as पाव in No. 4.

जे as in No. 1.

ए, Apabhr. एह, Pr. एह, Skr. एष, as इह in No. 4, and बह in No. 6.

You will find that in the Marāṭhī passage there are about 58 different words of which 26 or a few less than a half are derived from the Sanskrit through the Prākṛits; in the Gujarātī there are 42 out of which 23 or a few more than a half are of the latter description; in the Sindhī the proportion is 38 to 21 or somewhat greater than a half; in the Panjābī 44 to 23 or a half; in the High Hindī 48 to 23 or a little less than a half; in the Brāj 45 to 29, *i.e.* about two-thirds; in the Bangālī 71 to 27, *i.e.* about two-fifths; and in the Oriyā 32 to 15 or a little less than a half. I have not taken into consideration other words which do come to us undoubtedly through the Prākṛits, but the etymology of which is not so obvious. These would increase the proportion and bring it to more than one-half in most of the cases. In this list there are three or four words such as नाम and वह which may be called old Tatsama, since they exist unchanged in the Prākṛits, and the rest may be called old Tadbhava. Now in these passages you will also have seen a large number of words such as प्रार्थना, अभिप्रवेश, आश्चर्य, स्वप्न, बालक, शरीर, नदी, शिब, प्रथम, उबर, दिवारात्रि, शृङ्ग, स्थान &c., which are exactly the same as in Sanskrit. They could not have existed in those forms in the Prākṛits, and hence it is clear that they were introduced long after the Prākṛit period; and the tendency now-a-days in our languages is to introduce more of such words. These may be called modern Tatsamas. But some of these have undergone a corruption since they were adopted. Thus कर्म is pronounced as करम; धर्म, धरम; भविष्य, खतरी; कार्य, कारज; and कृपा, कर्पा or कुर्पा; while the Prākṛit corruptions of these are क्रम्म, धम्म खनिअ, कज्ज, and क्रिवा. Such words therefore are modern Tadbhavas. At the end of my observations on the Prākṛits in the last lecture I gave a list of vocables existing in those dialects which are called Deśya by native grammarians, and showed that several of them existed in our vernaculars also. We observe from the above passages which contain such words as मुस्सही, साहेब, and पानिशाह that there are in modern dialects words of an Arabic or Persian origin also. Thus we may distinguish these elements in the vocabulary of the vernaculars of Northern India:—1. Old Tadbhava, 2. Old Tatsama, 3. Modern Tadbhava, 4. Modern Tatsama, 5. Deśya, 6. Arabic, and 7. Persian. In its nature the old Tatsama element is but a small quantity and the main skeleton of

our languages is made up of the old Tadbhava. It forms the principal constituent of the speech of the middle classes. The higher classes however use the Modern Tatsama and Tadbhava element to a much larger extent; and the language spoken by learned men is heavily loaded with pure Sanskrit words. This element has succeeded in driving out a very appreciable portion of the first, in some of the languages. The Bangālī contains the largest number of pure Sanskrit words, and hence one who knows Sanskrit can master the language in but a few weeks. The old Tadbhava element is reduced to the smallest minimum in what is called the *sādhubhāṣā* or the speech of the educated. According to the extent of the modern Tatsama or Tadbhava element, the other languages may be arranged in the following order:—Oriyā, Marāṭhī, Hindī, Gujarātī, Panjābī, Sindhī. This last contains but a few pure Sanskrit words; hence it is rich in the old Tadbhava element, while it draws largely upon the Persian and Arabic. This foreign element is used in our dialects, principally in political matters. Persian and Arabic words are also used in the concerns of ordinary life, but their number is limited. The higher classes and learned men very rarely use them; while that element enters largely into the speech of the Mahomedans in the different provinces and of the Parsis. And the Mahomedans in the Hindī area use such a large number of these words that their language is by some considered an independent dialect and called Urdu, but it differs from the High Hindī in nothing further than in the use of these foreign words.

But though the vocabulary of our languages is thus composite the grammar is in every way the same that they have inherited from the Prākṛits. Here there is no mixture of different elements. A good many of the forms now in use have been constructed since the Prākṛit period; but, as I hope to show you, they are simply combinations or adaptations of existing Prākṛit forms. Thus we will divide our examination of the vernaculars into three branches. In the first we will trace out the Sanskrit words which were transformed in the Pāli and the Prākṛits in the various ways we have noticed, and discover the operation of the same or other laws in their further transformation, if they have undergone any, as also in the transformation of other words which remained unchanged in the Prākṛits or were imported from Sanskrit at a later period. In the second we will trace out the Prākṛit or Apabhraṁśa grammatical forms, and in the third, examine the

new or reconstructed forms and find out the principles upon which they have been made up.

The phonetic changes which the words of a living language undergo involve, as a general rule, economy of exertion in its widest sense; but there are some which do not, or which require increased effort. Economy may sometimes be effected in more ways than one. For instance, the assimilation of vowels to consonants may be effected by changing अ to ओ and thence to उ, or to ए and इ. Some people have a predilection for the former, others for the latter. Again, one mode of change may be economical to some, and another opposed to it to others. Thus the assimilation involved in the less open vowels इ and उ is of importance to some, but of little consequence to others; and they prefer the economy arising from the change of these vowels to अ since this does not require any movement of the tongue or the lips. Here then we have two kinds of peculiarities. Again, if an ordinary change has a very comprehensive range or is almost universal in a language, and if other ordinary changes do not keep pace with it, and are to be found only in a limited number of instances, that ordinary change must be considered to be due to a peculiar vocal habit or incapacity. The assimilation of conjuncts and of the diphthongs in the Pāli and the Prākṛits, and the elision of uninitial consonants in the latter, are changes of this nature. And finally, there is all the greater reason for attributing changes that involve no economy or necessitate greater exertion, such as the change of dentals to cerebrals or of sonants to surds, to vocal peculiarities. These several kinds of peculiarities give distinct individualities, so far as the external forms of words are concerned, to languages derived from one and the same primitive language. Thus then, some phonetic changes are special or peculiar, and others ordinary. We will now take up in order the instances observable in the Pāli and the Prākṛits of these two kinds of changes and trace them in the vernaculars, and also endeavour to find out whether these dialects have preserved any of the Pāli and Prākṛit peculiarities or developed new ones.

And first as regards vowels. The following are some of the instances in which Sanskrit अ is changed to इ, ए, or उ in the Prākṛits with the vernacular forms of the words :—

अ.

1. Skr. कृत्ति: skin, Pr. कत्ति, M. कान in कातडे.

Skr. घृष्ट: rubbed away, slender. Pr. घट्टो, G. and H. घट as a verbal base in घटवु and घटना.

Skr. मृदु soft, Pr. मऊ, M. and G. मऊ.

Skr. वृषभः bull, Pr. वसहो, H. बसह.

Skr. कृष्णः proper name, Pr. कण्हो, M. G. H. कान्ह or कान्हा.

Skr. तृणम् straw, Pr. तण, M. तण.

इ.

2. Skr. कृपा pity, Pr. किवा, M. कीव.

Skr. हृदयम् heart, Pr. हिअअ, H. B. O. हिय or हिया, old M. हिये,

Mod. M. हिद्या, S. हिओ, हिआउ, G. हद्या, P. हियाउ.

Skr. मृदम् sweet, Pr. मिहं, P. मिडा, H. मीडा, B. O. मिडा, G. मीडु, S. मिओ.

Skr. { वृष्टः seen, Pr. दिहो, G. दीओ, S. डीओ.
वृष्टिः sight, Pr. दिही, M. H. सीठ or सीटी.
वृद्ध्य of वृद्ध्यते is seen, Pr. दिस्सह, M. दिस in दिसणें, P. दिस
in दिसणा, S. दिस in दिसणु, O. दिह in दिहिवार.

Skr. वृगालः jackal, Pr. सिआलो, G. B. शियाल, H. सियार.

Skr. घृणा pity, disgust, Pr. चिणा, H. चिन, P. चिण.

Skr. वृङ्गम् horn, Pr. सिङ्ग, M. B. O. सिंग, G. H. सींग, P. सिंग, S.

सिङ्ग.

Skr. कृषिः husbandry, Pr. किसी, H. P. किस in किसान and किसान.

Skr. तृषा thirst, Pr. तिसा, P. तिहा, S. टिह.

Skr. गृध्रः a vulture, Pr. गिद्धो, P. गिद्ध, M. G. H. गीध, M. गिधड
also, B. गिधर. ड and र being the same termination, S. गिह.

Skr. मृत्युः death, Pr. मिच्चू, H. मीच.

Skr. घृतम् ghee, Pr. चिअं, O. चिअ, G. H. P. B. ची, S. गिह.

Skr. बृहस्पतिः name of a deity, बिहप्फई, H. बिफै.

Skr. मातृगृहम् mother's house, Pr. माइहर, M. माहिर, G. महीरं or महियर.

Skr. पितृगृहम् father's house, Pr. पिइहर, H. पीहर, G. पीयर.

उ.

3. Skr. पृच्छ to ask. Pr. पुच्छ, P. पुच्छ in पुच्छणा, S. पुछ in पुछणु,
H. G. पूछ in पूछना-उं, M. पुस in पुसणें.

Skr. वृष्टः rained, Pr. वुहो, P. वुहा, S. वुओ, G. वुड in वुडुं.

Skr. प्रावृष् rain, Pr. पाउसी, M. पाऊस, H. पावस.

Skr. ऊर्ध्व straight, Pr. उउजू, M. उउजू.

Skr. पितृकः father, Pr. पिउओ, S. P. पिउ.*

* Mr. Beames considers the उ of the S. पिउ, भाउ, &c., to be the nom. sing. termination and not a transformation of the Sanskrit क. But he is evidently wrong, since this उ appears in the oblique cases also, as पिउओ, भाउओ, &c. ;

Skr. मातृव्यसृका mother's sister, Pr. माउस्सिभा, H. मौसी, M. मावशी.
The others have मासी, probably by dropping उ.

Skr. मृङ्गः a bee, Pr. मुङ्गो, M. भुंगा.

The word घृतम् has घृत्तं in the Prākṛits according to the grammarians, but घृत्तं also must have existed; so also मृङ्गः has मिङ्गो. Some of the above words have two forms in the Prākṛits, but since one of them does not occur in any of the vernaculars, it has been omitted. There are other words having two or even three Prākṛit forms, one of which occurs in one of the vernaculars, and the other or others in another. Thus:—

4. Skr. तृणम् straw, { Pāli तिणं, H. तिन in तिनका.
Pr. तणं, M. तण, P. तुण in तुणका.
- Skr. कृतम् done, Pr. { कियो or कियो, G. कीसो, H. किया, P. कीता, S.
क्रियो or कीतो.
कओ, S. कयो, M. के for कब or कअ in केला, B.
के or कै in कैल*, O. कला.
- Skr. मृतः dead, Pr. { मुओ, G. S. मुओ, H. मुआ.
मओ, M. मे for मय in मेला.
- Skr. बृद्धः old, Pr. { बुडो, G. बुडो, S. बुओ, H. P. बुडा, O.
बुडा, B. बुडा.
बडो, S. बडो, H. P. बडा, B. O. बड,
M. dial. बड, in the sense of
"large," G. बडो, M. G. S. बड in
बडिल, and बडेरो, meaning "elder."
पह, M. पाड, G. पाड as in पाहुं a car-
buncle.
- Skr. पृष्ठम् back, Pr. ... { पिह, P. पिह, G. H. पीठ, O. पिठ, B. पि-
ठ or पिठ.
पुह, G. पूठ, S. पुठि.
- Skr. मृत्तिका earth, Pr. ... { मत्तिभा or महिभा, M. माती, H. मही or
माटी, G. B. O. माटी.
मिहिभा, G. H. P. मिही, S. मिदी.

while the nom. sing. उ does not, as in देहजो, gen. sing. of देहु "a country."
The words have उ even in those languages such as the P. and M. which have
discarded the nom. sing. उ, and it appears even in the feminine word माउ
which cannot take the masculine termination उ.

* चारि भाग कैल वेदव्यास से कारण B. Mahābhārata.

Skr. मातृका mother, Pr. ...	{ मातृआ, G. S. P. H. मातृ or माई, G. H. माए, O. B. माई and माइवा contracted to मेये, meaning 'a woman' generally.
	{ मातृआ, S. P. H. मातृ or माऊ. M. माय and G. P. H. B. O. मा are from Pr. माआ, Skr. माता.
Skr. भ्रातृकः brother, Pr. ...	{ भाइओ, G. S. P. H. B. O. भाइ or भाई.
	{ भातृओ, M. S. P. भातृ or भाऊ.

As the Pāli and the Prākṛit alphabet, on account of these changes, has no ऋ, so do the vernacular alphabets not possess it. Sanskrit words containing the vowel have, however, been recently imported into the languages ; but since even in those words, it is not correctly pronounced except by a few learned men, it cannot be said really to exist in vernacular speech, notwithstanding the use of those words. The usual modern pronunciation of the vowel is र, रि, रु, or अर्.

Another characteristic change we noticed in the Prākṛits is the softening of इ and उ to ए and ओ before double consonants. A good many words so changed have descended to the vernaculars. Thus :—

5. Skr. सिन्दूरः red lead, Pr. सिन्दूरो or सेन्दूरो, M. सैदूर, H. सैदूर, G. B. सिंदूर, S. सिंधुरु.

Skr. शिमुः a kind of tree, Pr. शेगू or शिगू, M. शेगूल or शेगद.

Skr. पिण्डः a ball, a bundle, Pr. पिण्डो or पेण्डो, M. पेंडा-पेंडी, H. P. पिंडा, G. पिंडो, S. पिंडो or पिंडी.

Skr. पुस्तकम् a volume, Pr. पोत्थओ, H. P. पोथा and पोथी, M. G. पोथी, S. पोथु and पोथी, O. पोथी, B. पुथी or पुती.

Skr. मुद्गरः a mallet, Pr. मोग्गरो, M. H. मोगरा, G. मोगर, S. मुडिरो, B. O. मुगुर.

Skr. मूल्यम् value, Pr. मोल्ल, H. M. मोल, O. मूल, G. मूल.

Skr. मुस्ता a kind of grass, Pr. मोत्था, M. मोथा in नागरमोथा, H. Pr. मोथा, S. G. मोथ, O. मुथा.

Skr. मुक्तः free, Pr. मोक्को, M. P. मोक in मोकळा, G. मोक in मोकळुं, S. मोकल, O. मुकुळा.

Skr. कुक्षिः a side of the belly or abdomen, Pr. कोक्खि, H. कोख, P. कुक्ख or कोख, G. कुख, S. कुखि, M. कूस, from Pr. कुच्छी.

Skr. गुच्छः a bunch, Pr. गोच्छो, B. गुचि, गुछि, or गोछा, O. गोछा, M. गोंस, H. P. गुच्छा, G. गुच्छो, S. लुगो (by transposition) or गोश.

Skr. कुष्ठम् white leprosy, Pr. कोडं, M. कोड, H. G. कोड, S. कोडु, B. कोड, कुड or कुड. O. कोड or कुड.

Skr. कूर्परः elbow, Pr. कोप्परो, M. कांपर, G. कोपरियुं.

Skr. शुण्डा the trunk of an elephant, Pr. सोण्डा, M. सौंड, P. सुंड, H. सुंड or सुंड, G. सुंड, S. सुंडि, B. O. गुंड, O. शौंड?

Skr. मुण्ड mouth, Pr. तोण्ड, M. तौंड.

Skr. कुण्डम् a puddle, Pr. कोण्ड, M. कौंड, G. कुंडी, कुंडुं.

Skr. मुग्ध foolish, Pr. मोद्ध or मोग्ग, H. P. मोधू, S. भौधू, मौगो, M. भौधू?

Skr. मुन्द् a pot-belly, Pr. तोन्द्, H. P. तौद्, M. हौद्, G. हुद्.

The G. 'ओचरहु' 'to pronounce' from Skr. and Pr. उच्चार, ओळगहु 'to transgress' from Skr. Pr. उल्लङ्घ, G. ओकहु, M. ओकणें, H. ओकना 'to vomit' from Pr. उगिर, Skr. उद्गिर, are also later instances of the operation of the same law.

The change of इ to ए is according to the grammarians optional in the Prākṛits and that of उ to ओ necessary. But in both cases we find two forms in the vernaculars. Still the prevailing forms in the latter are those in ओ, while those in उ are rare and mostly to be found in the Bangālī and Oriyā, which languages, and more especially the first, have a predilection for उ, in which case it is possible they may have changed the Prākṛit ओ to उ. In the Pāli and Prākṛits the ए and ओ in these cases are short; but the vernaculars having dropped one of the following double consonants have, according to a general rule to be noticed hereafter lengthened the vowels. When instead of a double consonant, there is a conjunct of a nasal and a mute as in सेन्धूर and तोण्ड, the nasal consonant is reduced to a simple anusvāra or nasal sound so as to give to the conjunct the character of a simple consonant, and the ए or ओ is pronounced long as in सेंधूर and तौंड. In this manner, though the Prākṛit short ए and ओ are, in the instances in which we possess an evidence of their existence, lengthened, I think in some of the vernaculars at least we have these vowels. For in a good many instances in Marāṭhī and Gujarāṭī ए and ओ are pronounced short. There is a rule which in Marāṭhī is almost universal, and in Gujarāṭī, often observable, in virtue of which the accent or the whole weight of the sound of a word falls on the final आ or ए of nouns in the former and the final ओ or ऊ in the latter; and the preceding vowels are rendered short while in the original Sanskrit and in Hindi they are long.

6. Skr. कीटकः a worm, Pr. कौटक, M. कौटक, G. कौटिक.

Skr. कौलकः a nail, Pr. कौलक, M. कौलक, G. कौलक.

Skr. कुपकः a well, Pr. कुपक, M. कुपक, G. कुपक.

Skr. निषकः le-

Skr. वृडकः a bangle, Pr. वृडओ, H. वृडा, M. वुडा, G. वुओ.

Skr. चूर्णकः lime, Pr. चुण्णओ, H. चूना, M. चुना, G. चुनो.

And many more instances might be given. Similarly in Marāṭhī the preceding long vowels are shortened when the terminations of the oblique cases are applied, as in भिकेस, पिकास, किडीस, पिठास, उनास, भुकेस, गुळास, &c., dative singulars of भीक 'beggary,' पीक 'crop,' कीड 'a worm,' पीठ 'flour,' ऊन 'sun,' भूक 'hunger,' गुळ 'molasses,' &c. If so, then by a necessary law of Marāṭhī speech, the ए and ओ of गेला 'gone,' केला 'done,' मेळा 'a gathering,' जेवढा 'as much,' पेढा 'sweetmeat,' घोडा 'a horse,' कोळसा 'charcoal,' गोफा 'the ankle,' जोडा 'a pair,' &c., and of बोपास 'to cowdung,' बोतास 'to a field,' पेठेस 'to a market,' लेंकरास 'to a child,' गोतास 'to a race,' चोरास 'to a thief,' पोरस 'to a boy,' &c., must be short. And if the Marāṭhī speaker will compare his pronunciation of मेळ, बोत, बोण, गोत, पोर, &c., with that of मेळा, बोतास, बोपास, गोतास, पोरस, &c., he will find that the quantity of ए and ओ in these latter words is shorter than in the former. Similarly, in Gujarāṭī the first ए and ओ of केवो 'how large,' वेलो 'a mad man,' छेडो 'end,' मेडो 'an upper storey,' मेळो 'a gathering,' खोळो 'lap,' घोडो 'a horse,' चोखा *pl.* 'rice,' पोळो 'broad,' पोणा *pl.* 'three-quarters,' मोगरो 'jessamine,' कोळसो 'charcoal,' &c., must be short. In Gujarāṭī the penultimate vowel of a monosyllabic root is, as in Hindī, shortened in the causal, as in लागवु 'to adhere,' लगावु 'to cause to adhere,' 'join,' धावु 'to run,' धाववु 'to cause to run,' सीखवु 'to learn,' सिखावु 'to teach,' सीवु 'to sew,' शिवावु 'to cause to sew,' बीहवु 'to fear,' बिहवावु 'to terrify,' &c. But in Hindī the short vowels that take the place of ए and ओ are इ and उ, as in दिखाना 'to show' from देखना 'to see,' धुलाना 'to cause to wash' from धोना 'to wash,' &c. But in Gujarāṭī the ए and ओ are not changed to इ and उ but remain, as in देखावु 'to show,' लेवावु 'to cause to take' from लेवु 'to take,' धोवावु 'to cause to wash' from धोवु 'to wash,' जोवावु 'to show' from जोवु 'to see,' &c., which they cannot do by the general rule if they are long. They must therefore be pronounced short. And as a matter of fact it will be found that the Gujarāṭī people in these and several other cases give a short sound to these vowels. In the Mālvanī dialect of the Marāṭhī ओ is very often pronounced like the English *o* in *pot*, and ए like *e* in *pet*. In Bangālī the ओ to which अ is converted in ordinary speech is also broad and short, and we have reason to believe that both ए and ओ when they really occur in words are often pronounced short in that and the Bhojpuri and other dialects of Bihār and Mithilā.

It may be urged against one of the arguments I have used that if the ए and ओ in शेतास and गोतास are short, the first आ in हातास 'to the hand,' कानास 'to the ear,' &c., must also be short, and consequently these vowels must be changed to अ. But अ is not necessarily the short form of आ, or आ the long form of अ. For in pronouncing आ the lips and the upper and lower parts of the mouth are much more widely apart from each other than in pronouncing अ; so that the difference between the two is not simply of quantity but of quality also. The first आ of such words as हातास and मातला 'maddened,' is therefore short आ; that is, in pronouncing it the vocal organs are in the same condition as in pronouncing long आ, but the time occupied is shorter than in the case of the latter. The अ that we have got in Sanskrit is short, but in most of the vernaculars we have a long अ which takes longer time to pronounce than the Sanskrit अ, while the condition of the vocal organs is the same. The final अ of words is silent in the vernaculars, but at the same time the vowel of the preceding syllable is lengthened. Thus गुण 'virtue' is, as a Sanskrit word, pronounced *gu-na*, but in Marāṭhī and Gujarātī it is *gūn*, and in Hindi *gūn*; Sanskrit गुड *gu-du*, 'molasses,' is in Marāṭhī *gūl*; Sanskrit तिल *ti-la*, 'sesamum' is in Marāṭhī and Gujarātī *tīl* and Hindi *tīl*. In the same way, the word रथ is in Sanskrit pronounced *ra-tha*, but when in vernacular pronunciation it becomes *rath*, the *a* is not the short अ, but अ pronounced long as if the word were *ra-ath* without a pause between the two *a*'s. The long अ and the short are found side by side in such a word as मदन which is pronounced in Sanskrit is *madana* with three consonants each followed by the Sanskrit or short अ. In the modern languages, however, the first syllable has its अ as in Sanskrit, but that of the second is lengthened, and in the last it is dropped, and the word thus becomes *madaan*.

This peculiarity of softening इ and उ to ए and ओ has been preserved by the vernaculars. It is not necessary that a conjunct consonant should follow. Thus :

7. H. बिराना or बेराना to mock, from Skr. विडम्बन; बिहान or बेहान morning, from Skr. बिभानम्, Pr. बिहान; नेवता invitation, from Pr. निमन्त, Skr. निमन्त्र; सोहर pleasing, from Skr. सुखकर, Pr. सुहअर; सुहावन or सोहावन agreeable, from Pr. सुहावन for such a Sanskrit form as सुखापन; मोहरा or मुहरा front or van-guard, the first part of which is from Pr. मुह, Skr. मुख; उखल or ओखल a wooden mortar, from Skr. उलूखल.

G. मोह in मोहड़ face, from Pr. मुह, Skr. मुख; भोय, ground, the M.

and H. forms being भुई; ओर in ओरडा, Pr. उवरओ, Skr. उपरकः or अपवरकः; गोर a family priest, from Skr. Pr. गुरु.

M. मेहुण a couple, from Pr. मिहुण, Skr. मिथुन; वेडावणें to mock, Skr. विडम्बन; होंडी the lock of hair on the head from Pr. शिहण्डिआ, Skr. शिखाण्डिका; मोहरे or म्होरे in front, of which मोह is from मुह as above; ओवरी (dial.) from Pr. उवरओ as above, तिरडा or तेरडा a kind of flower.

P. विह or वेह poison, from Pr. विस, Skr. विष; पिउ or पेउ father, for Pr. पिउओ, Skr. पितृक; नेउंवा invitation, from Pr. निमन्स, Skr. निमन्स; मोहर van-guard, as above, ओडक end, from Pr. उदक, Skr. उदर्क.

B. होयार door, for Pr. हुआर; छोरा a razor, for Pr. छुरओ, Skr. क्षुरकः; B. O. मोच mustache, for मुछ, Pr. मस्सू, Skr. इमशु; घोन or घुन to hear, for Pr. घुण; शियाल or शेयाल a jackal, for Pr. सिआलो, Skr. शृगालः.

The ए and ओ to which इ and उ are thus reduced must be short, since there is no reason here why the quantity should be increased.

Of the instances in which long ई and ऊ are softened to long ए and ओ in the Prākṛits, the vernaculars have retained the following:—

8. Skr. विभीतक myrobalan, Pr. बहेडओ, M. बेहडा, G. बेहडुं, H. P. बहेडा, S. बेहेडो.

Skr. ताम्बूल betel leaf, Pr. तम्बोल, H. P. तम्बोल, M. तांबोळ in तांबोळी a seller of betel leaves, G. तंबोळ in तंबोळी.

Skr. स्थूल, Pr. थोर, M. थोर.

More modern instances of this change are:—

9. H. लीमु or लेमु, B. लेबु, a lemon; H. मूछ or मोछ mustache, Pr. मस्सु or मसु; G. पेठे in that manner, from Skr. पीठिकया; वेरवूं to scatter, from Pr. विइर, Skr. विकिर; खेचवूं to pull, for H. खीचना; O. भोक hunger, for the भूक or भूख of the others.

Of the few instances in which इ is softened to अ in the Prākṛits, the vernaculars have retained हलद्वा in the M. G. हळद्, H. हलही, O. हळही and P. हळहरी or हळही. Though पडंसुआ does not occur, still पड which stands for प्रति in this word is preserved in several words; as M. पडसाद 'echo,' for Skr. प्रतिशब्द, पडजीभ 'the uvula' for Skr. प्रतिजिह्वा, पडछाबा or पडसावली, H. परछाई for Skr. प्रतिच्छाया &c. No more instances of this change are given by the grammarians, but as observed in the last lecture, the substitution of अ for इ or उ in one of the two or more places in which it occurs in some words indicates a tendency in the Prākṛits towards this change. The vernaculars have got more instances. Thus:—

10. M. G. S. पारख examination, test, H. P. B. O. परख, Skr. परीक्षा, Pr. परिक्खा; also the verb पारखणें.

M. H. P. G. निरखयें-ना-ना-हुं to see closely, Skr. निरीक्षण, Pr. निरि-
कखण.

M. H. G. बिखरयें-ना-हुं, P. बिखरना to scatter, Skr. बिच्छिर, Pr. बि-
बिखर. (S. बिखेरणुं).

H. बहलना to divert, amuse, Skr. बिहर.

H. भभूत holy ashes, Skr. बिभूति.

H. बहन, also बहिन, sister, Skr. भगिनी, Pr. भइणी; also बहरा or बहिरा,
Skr. बधिर, Pr. बहिर.

H. पहरना or पहिरना, S. पराहणुं, B. परण, to wear, Pr. परिहाण, Skr.
परिधान.

M. G. पण but, also, Pr. पुणो, Skr. पुनः.

M. H. जया an herd, Skr. वृधकः.

P. पंडत a learned man, Skr. पण्डित.

P. समय an omen, Skr. शकुन.

But in Gujarāṭī the tendency has operated very widely, as will be
seen from the following :—

G.	Skr. or Pr.	M. or H.
11. लिखनुं to write.....	लिख	H. लिखना.
बगडनुं to be spoilt	बिषट	M. बिषडयें, H. बिगडना.
मळनुं to be got	मिल	M. मिळयें, H. मिलना.
बिक्री sale	विक्रय	M. बिक्रा, H. बिक्रा.
कठिन difficult	कठिन	M. कठिन, H. कठिन.
बकासनुं to yawn	विकास	H. बिकासना.
तुलसी a kind of plant ...	तुलसी	M. तुळसी, H. तुलसी.
मानस a man.....	मनुष्य	M. मानूस, H. मानूस.
मरो mere	Pr. णवरि, Apabhr. निरु.	H. निरा.
भजवाळो light	उड्डवाल	M. उड्डेड or उड्डवड (dial.) H. उड्डियाला.
मडनुं a corpse	मृत with ट	M. मुडवा.
बसनुं difficult	विषम	M. H. विषम.
मळनुं to swallow	गिल	M. मिळयें.
समनुं a dream	Pr.सिमिण Skr.स्वप्न.	H. सपना, M. सपन or स्वप्न.
बंहे one's self, bodily ..	पिण्ड body	M. पिण्ड.
मस pretext	मिष	H. मिस, M. मिष.
चंता thought, anxiety ...	चिन्ता	M. चिन्ता.
गुण virtue, quality	गुण	M. गुण, H. गुन.
मकण name of Kṛishṇa, of a man	मुकुन्ध	M. मुकुंद.
परसोसम	परुषोसम	M. पुरुषोत्तम.

And there are many other instances, such as फरवुं 'to walk,' टकवुं 'to last,' and मरडवुं 'to twist,' the Marāṭhī forms of which are फिरवें, टिकवें, and मुरडवें. Thus Sanskrit, Prākṛit, and even foreign words such as मालूम 'known,' which becomes मालम, change their इ or उ to अ. The Gujarātī people have thus got a habit of careless pronunciation. After forming the contact necessary for pronouncing a consonant, they emit the breath without compressing it at the palatal or labial position, and thus save the trouble of raising the middle of the tongue to the palate, or of rounding the lips.

Under the head of assimilation the first characteristic vowel change observable in the Pāli and the Prākṛits which we have to notice is that of the Sanskrit ऐ and औ to ए and ओ. Most of the nouns having ऐ and औ are in Sanskrit attributives formed from other nouns, and as these are formed in other ways in our languages we cannot expect to find many instances of them. Still there are a good many, and enough to show that our vernaculars have inherited these Pāli and Prākṛit transformations of the Sanskrit ऐ and औ. Thus:—

12. Skr. गैरिक red chalk, Pr. गेरिअ, M. H. गेरू; Skr. कैवर्त pilot, Pr. केवड, H. केवट; Skr. तैल oil, Pr. तेळ, M. G. H. तेल; Skr. वैवाहिक parties to a marriage, Pr. वेवाहिअ, G. वेवड, B. वेहाड, M. (dial.) वेड; Sk. शैवल moss, Pr. सेवल, M. शेवूळ, G. शेवाळ, H. शेवाल, B. शेवाला; Skr. सैन्धव rock-salt, Pr. सेन्धव, H. P. संधा, M. संधे in संधेलोण, S. संधोलूण; Skr. वैदिक learned in the Vedas, Pr. वेदिओ, G. वेदिओ; Skr. सौभाग्य good fortune, husband's love, Pr. सोहग्य, H.B. O. सोहाग, —S.P. shorten the ओ to उ and H. also optionally; —Skr. पौत्र son's son, Pr. पोत्त, P. पोत or पोत्ता, H. पोता, S. पोद्रो; Skr. मौक्तिकम् a pearl, Pr. मोत्तिअ, M. मोर्ती, G. S. P. H. मोती; Skr. वैद्य, Pr. वेडजो, S. वेजु; Skr. गौर, Pr. गोरो M. H. गोरा, S. गोरो.

The Sanskrit syllables अय and अव are, you will remember, often changed to ए and ओ in the Pāli and the Prākṛits. The following instances of this change have come down to the vernaculars:—

13. M. ने to carry, H. ले, Pr. ने, Skr. नय; M. G. तैतीस thirty-three, H. तैतीस, P. तेती, B. तेत्रिच, O. तेतीच, Pr. तेतीसा, Skr. त्रयस्त्रिंशत्; M. केळ a plantain, G. केळु, H. केला &c., Pr. केळ for कयल, Skr. कदम्ब; M. लोण salt, Pr. लोण, Skr. लवण; H. ओत्त dew, Pr. ओत्साव, Skr. अवध्याय; M. ओणवा bent, Pr. ओणअ, Skr. अवनत; M. G. ओळबा a plumb, Pr. ओलम्बअ, Skr. अवलम्बकः; M. बार jujube fruit, Pr. बोर for बवर or बअर, Skr. बवर.

The Pāli and the Prākṛits on account of these changes lost the

Sanskrit diphthongs ऐ and औ. But several of the vernaculars have got them back by combining the vowels अ and इ, and अ and उ, short or long, brought together by the elision of consonants in the Prākṛits. A hiatus which requires the intonated breath to be let off twice successively without being stopped or compressed, is mostly felt to be burdensome, and is in consequence avoided in several ways. Where the two vowels can combine into one sound, a diphthong is formed out of them. Thus ऐ and औ are combinations of अइ and अउ. In pronouncing these last the breath has to be emitted twice, while in sounding the former the same current is first let off through the position of अ, and afterwards through that of इ and उ. The first part of the diphthong is thus a very short अ, to which half a mātṛā, as previously observed, has been allowed by the grammarians. The following are instances of this formation :—

14. Skr. प्रविष्ट entered, Pr. पइड, H. old M. पैडा.

Skr. उपविश sit, Pr. उवइस, M. H. बैसणें-ना, by the dropping of the initial उ.

Skr. उपविष्ट sat, Pr. उवइड, H. P. बैडा.

Skr. खदिर name of a tree, Pr. खइर, M. H. P. खैर.

Skr. कवित्थ name of a tree, Pr. कवित्थ, H. कैथ by dropping इ.

Skr. बलीवर्ध a bull, Pr. बइळ, M. H. P. बैल.

Skr. ताडुश like that, Pr. ताडिस, Apabhṛ. तइस, M. H. P. तैसा.

Skr. महिषी a female buffalo, Pr. महीसी. M. मँस, H. मैस, P. मैह or मैस.

Skr. भगिनी sister, Pr. भइणी, P. M. (dial.) भैण, H. बेन (more commonly बहिन.)

Skr. बृहस्पति a certain god, Pr. बिहष्पई. H. बिहै.

Skr. मलिन dirty, Pr. मइल, H. P. मैल, old M. मैळ.

Skr. पवित्रक holy thread, Pr. पवित्रअ, B. पैना.

In this manner the Hindī, Marāṭhī, and Panjābī combine अ and इ or ई into ऐ. Sometimes the ऐ so formed is dropped by the Marāṭhī, and we have optionally बसणें for बैसणें, मस for मँस, and तसा for तैसा. Bangālī and Oriyā have बस for बैस. The former has बैस in addition, so that these languages also seem to have dropped ऐ out of the two vowels.

अ and उ.

15. Skr. मुकुट a chaplet,

Skr. चतुर्थ fourth,

Skr. चतुष्क a square
pounds of चतुर्; as चतुर्

Skr. ज्येष्ठपुत्र the son of an elder brother, Pr. जेष्ठपुत्र, H. जेठौत.

Skr. मधुमक्षिका a bee, Pr. मधुमक्षिका, H. मौमाखी by dropping ह्.

Skr. वधू a girl, a daughter-in-law, Pr. वडू, O. बी.

When sometimes the Prākṛits combined अ and इ or अ and उ, they formed ए and ओ out of them. For, as we have seen, the passage from one position to another in the same breath was impossible to the speakers of the Prākṛits and the Pāli. Thus we have मोर for मूर, Skr. मूर; धेर for थहर, Skr. स्थिर; चोत्थ for चउत्थ, Skr. चतुर्थ; चोगुण for चउगुण, Skr. चतुर्गुण &c.

Similarly अय and अव form ऐ and औ in the vernaculars. When the final अ of य and व is not pronounced, these semivowels easily pass into इ and उ which with the previous अ form those diphthongs.

16. Skr. मदन god of love, Pr. मअण or मयण, H. नैन.

Skr. रजनी night, Pr. रअणी or रयणी, H. P. रैन.

Skr. नयन the eye, H. नैन, P. नैण.

Skr. भय fear, H. P. भै.

Skr. जय victory, H. P. जै.

Skr. शत a hundred, Pr. सअ or सय, H. P. सै.

Skr. वचन speech, Pr. वअण or वयण, H. वैन.

The Marāṭhī does not follow the Hindī and Panjābī here. For, according to the modern way of pronunciation as observed before, the final अ of words not being pronounced, the vowel of the preceding syllable is lengthened. The अ of the first syllable of भय and जय being thus long prevents the formation of ऐ; while that of य being so in such words as नयन that semivowel is not reduced to इ, and hence we have no ऐ. But these obstacles are set aside in the Hindī and the Panjābī, the tendency to form the diphthongs being strong. When however the Marāṭhī was in a state of formation it retained the Prākṛit peculiarity and changed the syllable अय to ए, as in सैं for शतम्, भै (old) for भय, ए of neuter nouns such as केलैं and ताम्बैं for the अय of the Prākṛit केलय and ताम्बय, के and गे of केला and गेला for the Prākṛit कव and गव, &c. This change is due to a weakened pronunciation of य. In modern times even य is often sounded like ए. For, in producing these two sounds the middle of the tongue being raised, the forepart falls lower, than in sounding इ. When, therefore, in pronouncing य the middle is not raised sufficiently high, the sound becomes ए and not इ, because this requires the forepart also to be raised higher.

In the following instances अव forms औ:—

17. Skr. धवल white, Pr. धवल, H. P. धौला, M. धवळा.

Skr. नवशिक्षित newly learned, Pr. नवसिक्खिअ, H. नौसिख, M. नौसिका or नवशिका.

Skr. नवन a dwelling, Pr. नवण, H. नौन, P. नौण.

Skr. कवल a mouthful, Pr. कवल, H. कौर or कौल.

Skr. नवनीत butter, Pr. नवणीअ, H. नौनी, P. नौणी, M. लोणी from the Pr. नौणीअ.

Skr. नमन bowing, Apabh. नर्धन, H. नौना, P. नौणा, M. लवर्ण.

Skr. लवन cutting, Pr. लवन, H. लौना.

Skr. कपर्दिका a shell, Pr. कवडिआ, H. P. M. कौडी, M. कवडी also.

Skr. सपत्नी a fellow-wife, Pr. सवत्ती, H. सौत, M. सवत.

Skr. श्वर a bee, Apabh. श्वर, H. P. शौरा, M. शौवरा from another derivative of श्वन.

Skr. सन्धर्व to deliver, Apabh. सवण्य, H. सौपना, P. सौपणा, M. सौपणें.

Here the Panjābī and the Hindī agree perfectly; but the Marāṭhī is not decided, sometimes changing the syllable to औ but more often, for the reasons given in the case of अय, retaining it as it is in the original, the अव, however, being pronounced like अइ in some cases, and अव with long final अ in others. Hindī and Panjābī similarly treat आइ or आई and आब, and आउ or आऊ and आव, while the Marāṭhī here completely parts from them. For the आ in these syllables is too strong a sound for the Marāṭhī ear to pass off into the very short अ of half a mātrā. Even the Hindī preserves आय unchanged in a good many cases, as बाय for Pr. बाय, Skr. वात 'wind.'

18. आइ or आय.

Skr. पाइ foot, Pr. पाअ or पाय, H. P. पै in पैर foot, पैदल foot-soldiers, पैकड shackles, &c. M. पाब in पायदळ foot-soldiers, पावरी a step.

Skr. कावस्थ name of a caste, Pr. कावस्थ, H. कैथ in कैथी name of the characters prevalent in some parts of Northern India.

Skr. नाविक a boatman, Pr. नाविअ, H. नैवा by dropping इ as H. usually does and reducing नाविअ to नाइअ.

Skr. ज्ञातिगृह a woman's family of birth, Pr. नाइहर, H. नैहर.

19. आउ or आव.

Skr. भ्रातृजावा brother's wife, Pr. भाउजाआ, H. भौजाई, M. भावजाई, S. भाजाई.

Skr. मातृवृत्तृका mother's sister, Pr. माउसिआ, H. मैसी, M. मावसी, S. P. मासी.

Skr. वातूल under the influence of wind, mad, Pr. वाऊल, H. P. बौरा, M. बावळा, O. बाउळा, B. बाउडा, S. बांविरो.

Skr. द्वापद a prey, a beast of chase, Pr. सादञ्ज, H. सौजा, M. सावञ्ज, Skr. वामन a dwarf, Apabh. बावन्, H. बौना, P. बौणा, B. बाउनिबा.

Skr. पादोन three-quarters, Pr. पाओन or पाऊन, H. पौने, P. पौणिआ.

There are a few instances in Hindî such as पेरना, from Pr. पइर 'to sow' Skr. प्रक्रिर; पोत 'nature,' Pr. पउत्ति. Skr. प्रकृति; पत्नी 'son's wife,' Pr. पुनवहू, Skr. पुत्रवधू; भावो 'name of a month,' Pr. भववअ, Skr. भावपद &c., in which अइ forms ए, and अउ and अव, ओ; but it will appear that the prevailing rule in that language and in the Panjābī is to change these vowels and semivowels into ऐ or औ. The Braj dialect of Hindî is thoroughly consistent in this respect, having ऐ and औ even in its grammatical terminations, as कौ for High. H. को करै, for करे, करौ for कइ, करौ for करो &c. The Marāṭhī agrees with these dialects perfectly only as respects अ + इ, and अ + उ; and the Bhaṅgālī and Oriyā, if we look to the few traces that they have retained of these Prākṛit syllables, seem to agree with the Marāṭhī. But the Gujarātī has throughout ए and औ for the Hindî and Panjābī ऐ and औ; and the Sindhī follows the Gujarātī a great way. The Gujarātī and Sindhī forms of the words occurring in tables 14-19, are as follows :—

H.	G.	S.	H.	G.	S.
20. पैठा	पेठा	पेठो	जै	जे	
बैसना	बेसनुं		सै	से in सेंकडा	
बैठा	बेठो		बैन.	बेन	बेणु
खैर	खेर		मौडा	मोड	मोडु
बैल	बेल		चौया	चोयो	चोयो [&c.]
भैस	भेस	मंहि	चौक	चोक	चोक, चौपैरो
बैन (P. भैण)	बेन	भंणु भेण	चौरस	चारस &c.	
मैल	मेल	मेरा-मैल	धौला	धोळो	धौरो
मैन	मेन		कौडी	कोडी	कोडी
रैन	रण		सौन	सोक	
नैन	नेन	नेणु	सौपना	सोंपनुं	सौपणु
भै	भे		बैदल	पेदळ	

H.	G.
भौजाई	भोजाई
पौने	पौणा

The Gujarātī has ए or औ even in words of a foreign origin where the other languages have ऐ or औ; as

H.	G.	H.	G.
21. पैरा करना	पेरा करुं	मैरान	मेरान
शैलत	शैलत	फौज	फौज

Similarly, though a few Sanskrit words containing ऐ and औ do occur in Gujarātī dictionaries, these diphthongs are generally pronounced like ए and ओ; as in जेन for जैन 'a follower of the Jaina sect,' वेर for वैर 'enmity,' &c. The Gujarātī, therefore, like the old Prākṛits combines अय and अव and अइ and अउ into ए and ओ, and since it did not receive the diphthongs ऐ and औ from the old Prākṛits, its alphabet really does not contain them. As observed before, the syllables अइ and अउ differ from ऐ and औ only in two currents of breath being emitted instead of one; in other respects they are alike, both the vowel sounds being contained in the diphthongs. Those syllables as well as अय and अव should, therefore, naturally pass into those diphthongs as involving the least possible change. If, notwithstanding, the Gujarātī people make ए or ओ out of them, and also give those forms to the ऐ and औ of Sanskrit and foreign words, it must be so, because their vocal organs are in this respect in the same condition as those of their Pāli and Prākṛit ancestors. On the other hand, the Hindī, and especially the Braj form of it, presents the old Āryan tendency of pronouncing the diphthongs in a somewhat exaggerated form; while the other dialects take up a position between these two in this respect.

Of the words in which an open vowel is changed to one more close and an approach towards an assimilation to a consonant is thus effected, the vernaculars have preserved the following :—

22 Skr. पक्वम् ripe, Pr. पिक्कं or पक्कं, M. पिक्कं, G. पाकुं, H. P. पक्का, S. पक्की, B. पाक्का, O. पक्का or पाक in पाकला.

Skr. अङ्गारः ember, Pr. इङ्गालो or अङ्गारो, M. (dial.) ईगळ, इगळो M. भांगारा, the rest अंगार.

Skr. ललाटम् forehead, Pr. णिडालं or णडालं, M. निढळ, S. निराड.

Skr. दत्तम्, Pr. दिण्णं, H. दीन, P. दित्ता.

Skr. कन्दुकः a ball, Pr. गेन्दुओ, H. गेरा, P. गेर, M. गेर.

Skr. अय, Pr. एत्थ, M. एथ.

In a great many more instances अ is thus changed in the vernaculars, and not only before

is mostly the case in the

Prākṛits,

S.	Skr. or Pr.	M.
23. किराणी a tale	कथानिका—कहानिआ	... कहाणी.
मुङ्गिरो a mallet	मुङ्गरः—मोग्गरो	... मोगर.
सांविरो dark	इयामलः—सामलो	... सांवळा.
पजिरणु to be lit up ...	प्रज्वलन—पञ्जलण	... पाजळणें.
पुखिराजु a topaz	पुष्कराज.	
विसिरणु to forget	विस्मरण—विस्तरण	... विसरणें.
विम्रिणु a fan	व्यजन	... विजणा.
खिण a moment.....	क्षण—खण	
खिमा forgiveness ...	क्षमा—खमा	
पधिरणु to melt	प्रगलन	... पगळणें.
पिगुलो lame	पङ्गु with ल	... पांगळा
पिम्रिरो a cage	पञ्जरः	... पिजरा.
पिपिरु the pīpal tree ...	पिप्पल	... पिपळ.
लिलादु the forehead ...	ललाट	... ललाट.
विरिलो rare.....	विरलः	... विरळ.
H.	P.	Skr. or Pr.
छिन a moment.....	छिन	... क्षणः—खणो
किवाड door	कवाड	... कपाटम्—कवाडं
डिम्भ vanity	दम्भः	... M. डंभ
गिनना to count	गिनना	... गणनम्
.....	दिम्भ or दम्भ	... दर्भः दम्भो
पिघलना to melt	पिघलना	... प्रगलनम्
हिलना to move	हिलना	... हलनम्?
रीधना to cook	रिण्णना	... रन्धनम्
खिमा or छिमा forgive- ness.	खिमा	... क्षमा
पिजरा a cage	पिजरा	... पञ्जर
जीमना to eat	जीमना	... जमनम्
बिगा or बांका crooked ..	बिगा	... वक्र—वंक
M.	Skr. or Pr.	
खिण (dial.)	क्षण—खण	
पिजरा as above.....		
मिशी	इमशू—मसू	... H. मूछ
B.	Skr.	
पिजरा as above, O. also		
काळिम tortoise	कच्छप	... M. कासव
काहिनी a tale	कथानक	... M. कहाणी

The Sindhî has the largest number of instances, and this change of अ to इ constitutes a peculiarity of that language. The Hindi has got a good many, and the Panjâbî follows it in almost all cases. Marâthî has but a few stray instances, but sometimes, as in शिवने 'to touch,' H. छुना, Skr. छुप, but Pr. छिव, and मिश्री, इ takes the place of उ also. The Gujarâtî has पिगलबुं for प्रगलनम् and ईण्डु 'an egg,' for अण्डकम्, but not many more cases. Bangâlî and Oriyâ have also but few instances, and even in most of these, and in those of the Marâthî, as well as in the Hindi पिअरा and जीमना, the इ may be regarded as arising from the influence of the neighbouring palatal consonant. The following are instances in which अ and in one case आ are changed to ए:—

24. H. मेडुक or मेडुक, P. मेडुक, G. मेडक, M. वेडुक, Skr. मण्डुक.

H. सेबल or सेमल, M. शेवरी or सांवरी, Skr. शास्मली, Pr. सामरी or सिम्बली.

H. नेवना to bow, P. नेउपा, M. लवणें, Skr. नमन.

H. नेवल a mungoose, P. नेउल, Skr. मकुल, Pr. नउल.

H. जेवना to eat, P. जेउपा, M. जेवणें, G. जमवुं, Skr. जमन.

M. उजेउ light, Pr. उज्जाल, Skr. उज्ज्वाल.

M. शेप cowdung, G. छाप, Skr. शक्ता instr. sing.

M. ठेवणें to keep, Skr. स्थापन, Pr. ठावण.

G. केहवुं to tell, सेहवुं to endure, रेहवुं to dwell, &c., before ह followed by अ, for कय, सह, &c.

But even here the ए of the Marâthî शेवरी, शेप, जेवणें, and उजेउ, as of the Hindi जेवना may be attributed to the influence of the preceding palatal.

In the Prākṛits there are two instances of the change of अ to इ, viz. खुड and खुडिओ for Skr. चण्ड 'fierce' and खण्डित 'plucked out.' The latter we have in the vernaculars in the form of खुट M. G., खुटि S. 'deficiency,' खोट H., खोट M. 'blemish,' and खुडणें or खुटणें M. खुटना H., खुटवुं G. to 'pluck out,' or खुटवुं G. 'to be deficient.' The Bangâlî changes अ to इ in a good many cases as:—

B.	Skr. or Pr.	M. or H.
25. हलुद turmeric	हरिद्रा-हलद्वा	हळद M.
आगुन fire	अग्नि-अगणी	आग M.
बामुन Brahman	ब्राह्मण-बम्हण ...	बामण M.
थुमन to place	स्थापन-ठावण	ठेवणें M.
सिमुल the silk cotton tree.	शास्मली-सामरी	सेमल H. शेवरी or सांवरी M.
पुकर a pond	पोखर H.
मगर a	मोंगरा M.

that where the Sanskrit or the older dialects have **अ**, the Bangālī has **इ** in the following words:—

- अ. **अ** कर्मन्तः **अ** कर्मन्तः M. **अ** कर्मन्तः.
 B. कर्मन्तः 1. कर्मन्तः. M. **अ** कर्मन्तः.
 C. कर्मन्तः 1. कर्मन्तः. M. **अ** कर्मन्तः.
 B. कर्मन्तः 1. कर्मन्तः. M. **अ** कर्मन्तः.
 C. कर्मन्तः 1. कर्मन्तः. M. **अ** कर्मन्तः.
 C. कर्मन्तः 1. कर्मन्तः. M. **अ** कर्मन्तः.
 C. कर्मन्तः 1. कर्मन्तः. M. **अ** कर्मन्तः.
 C. कर्मन्तः 1. कर्मन्तः. M. **अ** कर्मन्तः.

Thus **इ** whether for **अ** or **आ** is a characteristic of the Bangālī. But this characteristic is very likely connected with another which distinguishes the Bangālī language, viz., to pronounce the non-final **अ** in all cases as a short and broad **अ** like that in the English word *pot*. I have observed before that the assimilation of vowels to consonants might be effected by narrowing the passage of the breath by an upward movement of the tongue near the palatal position, or by rounding the lips. Which of these modes is resorted to, depends on the peculiar vocal tendencies of a people. Thus then, to change **अ** to **इ** or **उ** is a peculiarity of the Sindhi, the Panjābī, and the Hindi, and to short **आ** and **उ** of the Bangālī.

The following Prākṛit instances of the assimilation of the different vowels of a word have come down to the vernaculars:—

27. M. G. P. **अ** कर्मन्तः a creeper, H. P. **अ** कर्मन्तः, Pr. **अ** कर्मन्तः, Skr. **अ** कर्मन्तः. S. **अ** कर्मन्तः, Pr. **अ** कर्मन्तः.

M. **अ** कर्मन्तः a sugarcane, H. **अ** कर्मन्तः, Pr. **अ** कर्मन्तः, Skr. **अ** कर्मन्तः. H. has **अ** कर्मन्तः also, and P. **अ** कर्मन्तः.

H. P. S. **अ** कर्मन्तः a bed, M. G. **अ** कर्मन्तः, Pr. **अ** कर्मन्तः, Skr. **अ** कर्मन्तः.

M. **अ** कर्मन्तः, S. **अ** कर्मन्तः pepper, Pr. **अ** कर्मन्तः, Skr. **अ** कर्मन्तः.

M. **अ** कर्मन्तः to give over, assign, Pr. **अ** कर्मन्तः, Skr. **अ** कर्मन्तः.

There are a few modern instances as in

28. S. **अ** कर्मन्तः a buffalo, Pr. **अ** कर्मन्तः.

H. **अ** कर्मन्तः a tamarind tree, Skr. **अ** कर्मन्तः.

H. P. **अ** कर्मन्तः blood, Pr. **अ** कर्मन्तः, Skr. **अ** कर्मन्तः.

H. **अ** कर्मन्तः a glow-worm, Pr. **अ** कर्मन्तः? Skr. **अ** कर्मन्तः.

H. **अ** कर्मन्तः askance, Pr. **अ** कर्मन्तः, Skr. **अ** कर्मन्तः in **अ** कर्मन्तः; **अ** कर्मन्तः &c.

P. **अ** कर्मन्तः or **अ** कर्मन्तः a finger, Skr. **अ** कर्मन्तः.

Examples of the change of **अ** to **इ** or **उ** under the influence of a palatal consonant have been given in Table 24.

Of the words in which one of two similar vowels is made dissimilar or changed to अ in the Prākṛits the vernaculars have preserved the following :—

29. Skr. विभीतक, Pr. &c., as in Table 8.

Skr. सिधिलम् loose, Pr. सदिलं or सिदिलं. M. सडळ in the sense of 'loose of hand' or 'liberal,' H. B. O. डीला, S. दिरो or डरो, G. डीलुं. In these the first syllable स is elided.

Skr. हरीतकी myrobalan, Pr. हरडई, M. हरडी, S. हरीड.

Skr. मुकुटः a crown, Pr. मडडो, H. मौड, G. मोड.

Skr. मुकुलः a bud, Pr. मडलो, P. मौल in मौलना to bud.

Sindhi has हिलिडो also for सिदिल in which the last two consonants have interchanged places, and स् is changed to ह.

Modern instances of this change are:—

30. M. उंदीर a rat, G. उंदर, H. B. O. इंदूर, Skr. उन्वुरु.

H. B. चूंची nipple, Skr. चूचुकम्.

H. गेहूँ, घेऊं or गोहूँ wheat, P. घेऊं, G. घऊं, M. गहूँ or गंव, B. गम, O. महम, Skr. गोधूम.

P. रेहू a kind of fish, for रोहू, Skr. रोहित.

G. मुगट a crown, S. मुक्तिटु or मुट्टिकु, P. मुकट, M. मुगुट, Skr. मुकुट.

H. महुरत an auspicious time, Skr. मुहूर्त.

P. G. कुटंब family, Skr. कुटुम्ब.

P. परोहत priest, Skr. पुरोहित.

H. पत्नीहू for पुत्नीहू a son's wife, Pr. पुत्तवहू, Skr. पुत्रवधू.

H. सपूत, Pr. सुपुत्त, Skr. सुपुत्र.

H. P. पुरखा an ancestor, Skr. पुरुष.

M. मुंबळ, Skr. मुमुल.

H. P. जनेऊ, from जणोऊअ, Pr. जणोवईअ ? Skr. यज्ञोपवीत.

Here, as well as in the Prākṛits, one of the two similar vowels is oftener changed to अ than to इ or उ.

In the Prākṛits, you will remember, there are a few instances in which the vowels of the different syllables composing a word exchange places, or the close vowel of one is transferred to another. Of these the M. has विष् 'scorpion,' H. and P. बिच्छू, S. विलुं, and B. and O. बिछा. There are a good many more modern instances:—

31. H. भक्केला alone, Pr. एकलअ.

H. उंगली a finger, Skr. अंगुलि.

H. P. मौत death, from such a Pr. form as मन्तु, Skr. मृत्यु; the उ being transferred to the preceding syllable forms औ with अ; G. मोन.

H. हौले slowly, from Pr. हलु, Skr. लघु; and P. कौडा bitter, from Pr. कडुअ, Skr. कटुक.

H. M. S. बूँद, G. P. बुंद, Skr. बिन्दु, the इ transferred to the second syllable being dropped in virtue of a general law to be presently noticed in the vernaculars.

H. G. मूछ mustache, S. मुछ, P. मुच्छ, B. O. मोच, Pr. मत्सु, Skr. इमश्रु.

II. हिरन a deer, Skr. हरिण.

II. संध, B. O. सिंध a hole made in a wall by a thief, Skr. संधि.

G. केड the waist, Skr. कटि.

G. पीरसवुं to distribute food, from Skr. परिवेष.

G. बनेची sister's husband, बने for बेन sister, Pr. भइणी, and ची for चई, Skr. पति.

B. षोल a dart, from Skr. शल्य, the इ arising from the softening of य being transferred to श.

P. पुर above, Skr. उपरि.

M. ओंजळ a cavity made by joining the hands, from the word अंजुळी existing in old Marāṭhī and अंजुली existing in H. made up on the analogy of the Skr. अङ्गुलि.

M. हिरवा green, from Skr. हरित or हरितक.

M. चोंच a beak, M. (dial.) and B. टोंच, Skr. चंचु.

Of the Prākṛit words with a syllable lengthened or shortened through the influence of an accent of some sort, the vernaculars have preserved a few words. Thus:—

32. M. पाडवा the 1st day of the moon's increase, Pr. पाडिवो, Skr. प्रतिपद्. II. has the form with short प, पडिवा.

M. सारिखा like, Pr. सारिच्छो or सारिक्खो? Skr. सदृक्.

M. हल्या a buffalo used for ploughing, Pr. हलिओ; H. P. हाली one who ploughs, Pr. हालिओ, Skr. हालिकः.

H. गहिरा deep, Pr. गहिरो, Skr. गभीरः.

G. कुंवर, H. कुंवर or कुंअर, Pr. कुमरो, Skr. कुमार.

In modern vernacular pronunciation there is a law of accentuation which has produced important results. The penultimate syllable of a word is in all our dialects pronounced with a stress, the tendency of which is to lengthen that syllable and drop the final vowel. In most of them this tendency has worked itself out thoroughly. The preceding vowel, however, is not always written long, but still the long or at least the emphasized pronunciation does exist. I have already given instances* in which while the final अ is silent or dropped,

* See p. 138.

the इ or उ of the preceding syllable is lengthened, and have shown that when that syllable has अ, it also is pronounced long, though not changed to आ. The final इ or उ of Sanskrit words recently imported into the languages have been dropped in virtue of this law of accentuation. Thus:—

33. M. H. G. पद्धत method, mode, Skr. पद्धति.

M. H. G. P. गत condition, Skr. गति.

M. G. विपत, H. P. विपत misery, Skr. विपत्ति.

M. H. P. G. B. रीत manner, Skr. रीति.

M. H. G. P. B. जात species, caste, Skr. जाति.

M. H. कीर्त, H. G. P. कीरत fame, Skr. कीर्त्ति.

M. H. P. G. रास a heap, Skr. राशि.

M. H. P उपाध injury, annoyance, Skr. उपाधि.

M. H. P. G. नीत morality, Skr. नीति.

H. P. कव a poet, Skr. कवि.

M. G. वस्त, H. P. वस्त a thing, Skr. वस्तु.

H. P. साध a good man, Skr. साधु.

M. G. H. P. मध honey, Skr. मधु.

Bangālī and Oriyā authors hardly represent the proper vernacular pronunciation. Such words as the above, therefore, do not occur, but probably they do exist. In Sindhi, however, here as well as in other instances to be given, the tendency of this law of accentuation is but partially realized, and such of the above words as exist in that language preserve their Sanskrit endings; as राहि or राशि, जाति, रीति &c. Not only does this law characterise the vernacular speech of the day, but it must have been in operation for centuries, since the old Prākṛit words which like the above have not recently been imported but have descended to the modern languages from the spoken dialects of ancient times, have also been similarly changed. Thus:—

34. M. B. भूक, H. G. B. भूख, P. भुक्ख, O. भोक hunger, Pr. बुइक्खा, Skr. बुभुक्षा.

M. H. P. G. जीभ, B. O. S. जिभ tongue, Pr. जिब्भा, Skr. जिह्वा.

H. P. सेज, M. G. सेज, S. सेज-सेजा a bed, Pr. सेज्जा, Skr. शय्या.

M. भीक, H. G. भीख, P. निक्ख or भीख, B. O. निक alms, Pr. निक्खा, Skr. निष्का.

M. भीख, H. P. भीख, S. भीख, Pr. भीख, Skr. भीष.

M. लैंड, H. P. लैंड, S. लैंड, Pr. लैंड, Skr. लैंड, of an elephant, Pr. लैंड.

M. G. लैंड

- H. P. सैन, S. सैन, G. सान a sign, Pr. सण्णा, Skr. संज्ञा.
 II. S. साध, B. साह or साध, O. साध wish, longing, Pr. सद्धा, Skr. श्रद्धा.
 M. G. धूळ, H. धूल, S. धूडि, B. O. धूला dust, Pr. धूलि, Skr. धूलि.
 M. H. G. आग, P. आग or आगन, B. आगुन, S. आगि fire, Pr. अग्गी
 or अग्गिणी, Skr. अग्नि.
 M. H. हीठ sight, Pr. विट्ठि, Skr. दृष्टि.
 M. बहिण or भैण, P. भैण, II. बहिन, बहन, or बेन, G. बेन, S. भैण or भेण,
 • B. बोन sister, Pr. भइणी, Skr. भगिनी.
 M. म्हैस, H. भैस, G. भैस, P. भैह or भैस, S. भैहि a buffalo, Pr. महिसी,
 Skr. महिषी.
 H. P. कोख, G. कुख, M. कूस, S. कुखि a side of the abdomen, Pr.
 कुक्खि, Skr. कुम्भि.
 H. P. रैन, G. रेन night, Pr. रयणी, Skr. रजनी.
 M. सवत, H. सौत, G. सोक्र a fellow wife, Pr. सवत्ती, Skr. सपत्नी.
 M. खाण, H. खान a mine, Pr. खाण, Skr. खनि.
 M. H. P. G. B. O. रात, S. राति night, Pr. रत्ती, Skr. रात्रि.
 M. G. P. बेल, H. P. बेल, S. बलि a creeping plant, Pr. वेल्ली, Skr. वलि.
 H. सास, P. सस्स, M. G. सासू, S. ससु mother-in-law, Pr. सस्सू, Skr. श्वश्रू.
 M. G. बीज, P. बिज्ज, S. विज्ज lightning, Pr. विज्जु, Skr. विद्युत्.
 M. ऊंस, H. ऊख or ईख, P. इक्ख, Pr. उच्छू, Skr. इक्षु.
 H. G. आंख, P. अक्ख, S. अखि, B. O. आखि the eye, Pr. अब्खि,
 Skr. अक्षि.
 M. G. B. O. हाड, H. हाड, हडु, or हड्डी, P. हडु or हड्डी, S. हडु or हड्डी,
 Pr. अड्डी, Skr. अस्थि.
 M. हत्तीण, H. G. हाथीन, Pr. हत्थिनी, Skr. हस्तिनी.

Here also the Sindhî preserves the old endings in some cases, and has dropped them in others. In this manner, the final आ, इ, ई, उ and ऊ of Sanskrit and Prākṛit nouns have been dropped in the vernaculars or changed to a silent अ. Final ओ is similarly treated. Even in the Apabhraṃśa period this rule of accentuation must have prevailed, since the ending vowels are similarly shortened in a good many cases. You will remember that the Prākṛit ओ of the nominative singular of masculine nouns is mostly shortened to उ in that dialect, and sometimes altogether dropped. The modern vernaculars have thus got a great many masculine nouns ending in the silent अ, such as हात or हाथ 'hand,' कान 'ear,' दांत 'tooth,' धीट 'bold,' बड 'the Banyan tree,' &c. But as before the Sindhî has in all these cases preserved the उ; as हयु, कनु, उडु, डीडु, बडु, &c. When the final vowel is preceded by another and not by a consonant as in these words and the others

in the above lists, that other vowel being accented by our rule shows a tendency to become long, and the original unaccented final being dropped, the accented vowel becomes final. Thus:—

35. Skr. मोक्तिकम् a pearl, Pr. मोत्तिअं, M. मोती, G. S. P. H. मोती.

Skr. पानीयम् water, Pr. पाणिअं, M. G. पाणी, H. पानी.

Skr. वृथिका a flowering bush, Pr. वृहिआ, M. H. G. वृही or वृई, H. वृही.

Skr. घोटिका a mare, Pr. घोडिआ, M. G. H. P. घोडी.

Skr. घाटिका a garment, Pr. साडिआ, M. G. H. साडी.

Skr. वृत्तिका earth, Pr. मत्तिआ, महिआ, or मिहिआ, M. माती, H. मदी as in Table 4, all ending in ई.

Skr. ताम्बूलिकः a seller of betelnut, Pr. and Ap. तम्बोलिओ-उ, M. तांबोळी, G. तंबोळी, H. तंबोली.

Skr. तैलिकः a seller of oil, Pr. and Ap. तेलिओ-उ, M. तेली.

Skr. हालिकः a peasant, Pr. हालिओ, Ap. हालिउ, H. हाली, S. हारी.

Skr. नापितः a barber, Pr. and Ap. न्हाविओ-उ or नाविओ-उ, M. न्हावी, H. नाई.

Skr. वृश्चिकः a scorpion, Pr. विञ्छुओ, Ap. विञ्छुउ, M. विंचू, H. P. बिछू, S. बिछु, B. O. विछा.

Skr. गुदः ordure, Pr. गुओ, गुउ, M. H. G. गू.

Skr. जुगम्, Pr. जुअं, M. जू.

Skr. बृका a louse, Pr. ब्रूआ, H. P. G. ब्रू, M. ऊ.

Skr. वाटिका an enclosure, Pr. वाटिआ or वाडिआ, M. G. H. वाडी, B. वाटी.

Skr. वीटिका a roll of betel leaf, &c., Pr. वीडिआ, M. विडी, G. बिडी, H. वाडी.

Skr. सूचिकः a tailor, Pr. सूचिओ, Ap. सूचिउ, H. सूजी.

Skr. मक्षिका a fly, Pr. मच्छिआ or मक्खिआ, M. माखी, G. H. माखी, नाछी.

Skr. जीवः life, Pr. जीओ, Ap. जीउ, H. जी.

Skr. लोहितम् blood, Pr. लोहिअं, G. लोही, H. P. लोहू.

Skr. जलौका a leech, Pr. जलोआ, M. जळू, H. जलू, G. जळां.

Skr. बालुका sand, Pr. बालुआ, M. G. बाळू, H. बालू.

Skr. पिढकः, माढका, and भ्रूढकः as in Tables 3 and 4.

Thus then the Sanskrit and Prākṛit penultimate vowels become final in the vernaculars, and being originally accented in consequence of the law we have been considering, retain that accent in most cases, and are thus lengthened. When the penultimate happens to be अ it is lengthened to आ as in the following:—

Skr. इक् a horse, Pr. घोडओ, Ap. घोडउ, M. H. P. B. O. घोडा.

Skr. पारदः mercury, Pr. पारओ, Ap. पारड, M. H. P. B. O. पारा.

Skr. आमलकः a kind of myrobalan, Pr. आमलओ, Ap. आवेलड, M. आंवळा, H. P. आंवला or आमला.

Skr. आन्नातकः hog-plum, अम्माडभो? Pr., Ap. अम्माडड, M. आंबाडा, H. अंबाडा.

Skr. बिभीतकः beleric myrobalan, Pr. बहेडओ, Ap. बहेडड, M. बेहडा, H. P. बहेडा.

Skr. पुस्तकम् a volume, Pr. पोत्यओ, Ap. पोत्यड, H. P. पोया.

Skr. कण्टकः a thorn, Pr. कण्टओ, Ap. कण्टड, M. H. B. कांटा.

Skr. गोलकः a ball, Pr. गोलआ, Ap. गोलड, M. P. गोळा, H. B. गोला.

Skr. इयालकः brother-in-law, Pr. सालओ, Ap. सालड, M. P. साळा, H. साला.

Skr. दीपकः a lamp, Pr. दीवओ, Ap. दीवड, M. दिवा, P. दीवा, H. दिवा, B. दीवा.

Skr. मञ्जुकः a bedstead, Pr. मञ्जुओ, Ap. मञ्जुड, M. मांजा.

Skr. मस्तकम् head, Pr. मत्यभं, M. (Goan., Māl., and Chit.) मायां; Pr. मत्यओ, Ap. मत्यड, by a change of gender, M. H. B. माया, P. मत्या.

Skr. कटकम् a wristlet, Pr. कडअं, M. (Goan., Māl., and Chit.) कडां.

Skr. कीटकः a worm, Pr. कीडओ, Ap. कीडड, M. किडा, H. P. कीडा, B. कीडा, and the other words given in Table 6.

It may be urged that in modern pronunciation when the penultimate अ is accented, it does not become आ even though pronounced long, as observed before.* How is it then that it becomes आ here? In modern times several new modes of pronunciation have arisen, but as regards the matter in hand, to lengthen अ into आ was the old process. And often when the old processes have disappeared from what is considered the standard form of a language, they are found preserved in some dialect of that language. Thus, while in the standard Marāṭhī the penultimate अ is simply pronounced long, it becomes आ in the Goanese and Mālvaṇī dialects.

Thus—

	St. M.	Māl. Goan.
37. पातळ	a garment.	पाताळ.
कापड	cloth.	कापाड.
वतन	hereditary property.	वतान.
अतन	careful preservation.	अतान.
धोतर	a garment.	धोतार.
खडप	a rock.	खडाप.

* Supra, p. 138.

In this manner then the penultimate अ in consequence of the accent became आ, and the final उ and अ of अं being dropped, itself became final, and has preserved its accent.

An unaccented अ, आ, or उ is, you will have observed from the above instances, dropped after a close or dissimilar vowel. For, if preserved, its effect would be to change the preceding close vowel to the corresponding semi-vowel. But being accented that vowel resists the influence and in its turn overpowers the unaccented and consequently weak vowel. But when it is possible to combine both into one sound the final is sometimes not dropped. Thus the अ and उ in the above examples are combined into औ in the Gujarāṭī, the Sindhī, and the Goanese, Mālvaṇī, and Chitpāvṇī dialects of the Marāṭhī, and the Mārvarī, Mewarī, Kumaonī, and Garhavālī dialects of the Hīndī; and we have घोडो, पारो, आवळो or आवलो, आंबाडो, बेहडो, कांटो, गोळो, साळो दिवो, मांचो, and किडो. When अ follows another अ, the former, you will remember, is generally changed to a light य in the Prākṛits. Those dialects tolerated a hiatus when one or both of the vowels were close. But अ or आ followed by अ or आ require two complete openings of the mouth which could not be borne, and hence a close sound इ was interposed. Thus मत्थअं and कडअं in the above became मत्थयं and कडयं, and the य being almost as light as the vowel इ and being unaccented, is dropped in the Mālvaṇī and the other dialects; but in the standard Marāṭhī, as formerly observed, the अ and य are combined into ऐ, and so we have मायेँ and कडेँ. In the Apabhraṁśa, you will remember, the masculine termination उ is transferred by analogy to neuter nouns, and Hemachandra tells us that neuter nouns having a क at the end do not drop their nasal termination. Thus, we have मत्थउं and कडउं from which by combination we have the Gujarāṭī मायूं and कडूं. Here the nasal sound gives a sort of fixity to the vowel, and hence it does not pass into औ as in the case of masculine nouns, but absorbs the preceding अ. The ओ, ए, and ऊ thus formed are accented like the औ of masculine nouns in the Marāṭhī and others, since they are

Similarly, final unaccented syllables are slurred over and the least part of which it sounds like the thong with the preced-

38. M. बह or बय अ'ई

M. सह or सह read—

M. (Mâl. and Clit.) नइ or नय्, H. नइ, S. नइ, Pr. नई, Skr. नदी.

M. सेणवइ or य name of a caste, Pr. सेणावइ, Skr. सेनापति.

H. बहनोइ sister's husband, Pr. भइणीवइ, Skr. भगिनीपति.

Sometimes the final vowel इ absorbs the preceding अ, as in G. बनेवी for बहनोइ, M. सेणवी, and M. इळवी for Pr. इलवइ, Skr. इलपति.

You will have seen that the Sanskrit nouns composed of three or more syllables given in Table 36 with अ for their penultimate vowel and क or any other similar syllable ending in अ for the final, have dropped one syllable and become nouns ending in आ in Marâthî, Hindî, Panjâbî, and Bangâlî, and in Oriyâ also in some cases, and in ओ in Gujarâtî, Sindhî, and the dialects of the Marâthî and Hindî spoken of above. Such of them as are neuter have acquired the ending एं or आं in Marâthî and ऊं in Gujarâtî. But these are not the only nouns with a final आ and ओ and एं, आं and ऊं in these languages. There are a good many more, both substantives and adjectives, which have these endings. In the Brajbhâshâ also a great many adjectives, nominal and verbal, end in ओ or औ. The Sanskrit words from which they are derived are not composed of three syllables, with क or another syllable like it preceded by an अ, as the final. Thus the substantives H. M. चेला 'a disciple,' पुडा 'a parcel,' काढा 'a decoction,' adjectives, H. नीला, M. निळा 'blue,' H. पीला, M. पिळ्ळा 'yellow,' and past participles, H. गया 'gone,' मुवा 'dead,' M. गेला, मेल, &c., and the corresponding Gujarâtî, चेलो, पुडो, काढो, नीळो, पीळो, गयो and मुयो are derived from the Sanskrit चेटः, पुटः, काथः, नीलः, पीतलः, &c. Similarly such neuter nouns as M. केळें (dial. केळां), G. केळुं, M. सोनैं (dial. सोनां), G. सोनूं, are derived from the Skr. कदलम् and सुवर्णम्. How then did they get their आ and ओ and आं, एं and ऊं? A great many nouns in our languages end in अ, which has now become silent; and these, as I have explained, are derived from the Sanskrit nouns ending in अ, the nominative termination ओ being, because it was unaccented, at first reduced to उ, and afterwards dropped in most of them, but preserved in Sindhî. By that same law of accentuation which brought about the elision of this ओ, we have seen, that nouns ending in क or such other syllable preceded by अ come to have आ-ओ and ए-आं-ऊं for their final. By an obvious inference, therefore, those other substantives and adjectives also must have got कः or कम् in the Prâkrits and the Apabhramśa in the forms of ओ or अ and उ or ऊं, though in Sanskrit they do not possess them. The suffix क though actually

found in certain words only in Sanskrit, must have been largely used in the spoken language of ancient times, since Pāṇini and his expositors allow of its being appended to all nouns and even verbs and participles, to indicate littleness,* contempt,† tenderness,‡ the state of being unknown.§ resemblance or copy,|| and a species¶ founded on some of these particularities. Words formed by the addition of such a suffix in such senses cannot, of course, be much used in literary works. They are adapted for colloquial purposes, such as our Marāṭhī राम्या for Rāma and गौषा for Govinda are. Accordingly in the Prākṛits and Apabhraṃśa, which were derived from the spoken languages, we find the practice of adding the suffix to be very common. Thus in the fourth act of the Vikramorvaśī we have लिखुअं for लीढकम्, सिखिखुअं for स्निग्धकम्, जुअलअं for जुगलकम्, जुआणओ for जुवकः, आपसओ for आसन्नकः, परिमंथरओ for परिमन्थरकः, काननए for काननके, कुसुमुज्जलए for कुसुमोड्डवलके, लालसओ for लालसकः, परवारणओ for परवारणकः, लीणओ for लीनकः, गहन्वओ for गजेन्द्रकः and many others. So also in Hemachandra's quotations from Apabhraṃśa works, we have घडिअउ for घटितकः, विप्पिअवारउ for विप्रियकारकः, उड्ढावन्तिअए for उद्रावयन्तिकया, विहउ for वृष्टकः, वल्लहउं for वल्लभकम्, मुअउ for मृतकः, &c.

Now the question is, why is it that certain nouns only which have आ and ओ or अं, ए and उं in our vernaculars had क appended to them in the Prākṛits and not others? The suffix was used only where some additional sense was intended to be expressed. Hence there were some words to which it was not appended at all, and of those to which it was two forms existed, of which the one augmented had an augmented sense. And in our modern dialects a good many words have these two forms, and of these that with आ conveys an additional sense, such as is attributed to क by the Sanskrit grammarians. Thus दांत in Marāṭhī expresses a 'tooth,' but दांता a copy of the animal tooth, that is, 'the tooth' of such an instrument as a saw; मेळ signifies 'union,' 'agreement,' but मेळा expresses a certain union, viz. a concourse of people in a fair or on some festive occasion; कोंपर signifies 'the elbow,' but कोंपरा any corner, resembling that made by the elbow; दोर means 'a string,' generally, but दोरा a particular string, that is, 'thread,'

* Pāṇ. v. 3, 85-86; v. 4, 4.

† Pāṇ. v. 3, 74-75.

‡ Pāṇ. v. 3, 76-77. § Pāṇ. v. 3, 73.

¶ Pāṇ. v. 3, 96-97. ¶ Pāṇ. v. 3, 75, 87, 97.

used for sewing; पाट denotes generally 'a strip,' and thence *the piece of wood* used for sitting on; but पाटा *a slab of stone* used for pounding spices; फांस signifies 'a noose,' generally, but फासा *a snare* for birds or beast, and also 'a catch,' for fastening anything. In the Hindi, Panjābī and Gujarātī बांस or बाँस means a *bambu*, as does बाँसु in Sindhi; but in Marāṭhī बाँसा means 'a bambu used as a rafter' and thence a rafter generally, &c. In Marāṭhī and Hindi गाम्ब signifies 'foetus' or 'womb,' but गाम्बा the *internal spadix or fruit-receptacle* of the plantain-tree or the *core or heart* of anything. The Panjābī गड्ढा and गड्ढा also mean 'the womb' and the *heart or core* of anything respectively. Thus then क्क was appended to a word in the Prākṛits to denote some additional sense; and both the augmented and unaugmented forms of it were in use; and these in some cases have descended to the vernaculars. But in the course of time, in consequence of the frequent use of the augmented forms, the things expressed by the unaugmented words came to be thought of with the additional property to denote which the क्क was in the first instance affixed. Hence the forms without क्क went out of use, and gradually those with it lost the additional sense. It was not possible to preserve this sense except by a comparison with the signification of the unaugmented forms. But as these disappeared, the comparison was impossible. And in some cases the additional sense was so slight, that in the course of time it gradually dropped away, though the two forms of the word did exist. Thus we have in Marāṭhī चूर or चुरा 'fragments,' घेर or घेरा 'circumference,' खाँद or खाँदा 'the shoulder,' जोड़ or जोडा 'a pair,' भूस or भूसा 'chaff,' and others; but there is no perceptible difference in the sense of the two forms, though in the last three cases usage has restricted one of them to one state of things and the other to another. So also one of our dialects has the augmented form, and another the original, the sense being the same. Thus:—

39. B. बड़, H. P. बड़ा large or great.

M. खेल, H. P. खेल, B. खेला a play.

H. रहिना, B. उरहिन, O. उरहान right hand.

M. खाँब, M. (dial.) खाँबी, G. खंभ, H. P. खंभ or खंभा, B. खंभा, O. खंभ a pillar.

B. आम, H. आम or आम्ब, P. अंब, M. आंबा, G. आंबो the mango tree.

P. मच्छ, H. B. माछ, M. मासा a fish.

B. भाल, H. P. M. भला good.

It thus appears that originally the suffix क was not necessarily applied to any nouns, but optionally to such as admitted of the additional signification. This additional signification has been preserved in some cases, but lost in others.

You will now have seen that the Sanskrit and Prākṛit final vowels having, for the most part, been dropped by the influence of the accent, the final आ, अं, ई, ईं, ऊ, ऊं, ए, and ओ that we have now got were originally penultimates or have arisen from a combination of the penultimate and final. The accent which originally fell on the penultimate falls now in consequence of this change on these new finals. Thus, these two accents, that on the penultimate when a word ends in the silent अ, and that on the new final, are now to be met with in the vernaculars. The first may be called the original accent, and the second derivative. The Marāṭhī is of all our dialects the most sensitive to them, and shortens all the other vowels of the word in order to throw the whole force of utterance on the accented syllable. The Sanskrit सुतक 'mourning,' नूतन 'new,' पीतल 'brass,' and the Sanskrit and Prākṛit जीवन्त (from जीवन्तः or जीवन्तो) are pronounced as सुतक्, नूतन्, पीतल्, जिवन्त्, &c., with the penultimate अ long and the first vowel short. In this way, in a word composed of three syllables with the final अ silent, the first syllable must be short in Marāṭhī. When a word is composed of more than three syllables, the अ of the antepenultimate is elided, as in अङ्घ्र्य, ग्रहाण्य, pronounced as अङ्घ्र्य, ग्रहाण्य्, &c.

Similarly, when a word ends in the accented आ and the other vowels, the preceding vowels are shortened as in the following :—

40. किडा, Skr. कीटकः, Pr. कीडओ, and the others in Table 6. Also चुरा and भुसा which without the आ are चूर and भूस (see p. 159), विडी, कुई and such others occurring in Table 35.

पिडी a step in the scale of descent, a generation, Skr. पीडिका.

जुवा gambling by means of dice, Skr. यूतकः (by change of gender).

निळा-ळें-ळी blue, Skr. नीलकः-क-लिका.

पिवळा-ळें-ळी yellow, Skr. पीतलकः-क-लिका.

When together with the accented final a word is composed of three or more syllables, or more generally, when the accented syllable is preceded by two others or more, the अ of that which immediately precedes is silent or elided, as in the case of अङ्घ्र्य above, and any other vowel in its place is shortened and sometimes dropped. The other vowels are also pronounced short. Thus :—

41. शीक *imper. 2nd* शिकर्णे *inf.* to learn, pronounced as
per. sing. the origi- शिकर्णे.
 nal form of the root.

पूस पुसर्णे *inf.* 'to ask' ... पुसर्णे.

रूस रुसतो *pres. part* 'he is
 angry' रुसतो.

शीव शिवला *past part.*
 'touched' शिवला.

शीव has similarly शिवर्णे 'to sew,' *inf.* शिवतो 'he sews,' शिवला
 'sown.'

कर 'do,' *pres. part.* unaugmented करीत, augmented करितो or करतो
 pronounced as कर्तो.

So also अङ्गुष्ठकः is आंग्ठा, and श्वद्युरकः, सास्त्रा the penultimate उ
 being dropped.

When the final is unaccented, it is the penultimate that is emphasized,
 but when it is accented, the penultimate is slurred over. Thus the
 accentuation of the penultimate leads to the elision of the final vowel,
 and the accentuation of the final brings about an elision or shortening
 of the penultimate.

In Hindi also the accent leads to the elision of the अ of the previous
 syllable when more than one precede the accented syllable. Thus उब-
 टन 'a cosmetic,' is pronounced as उबटन्, मूरखपन as मूरखप्न, उबटना, *inf.*
 'to rub the body with a cosmetic,' as उबटना, करना as कर्ना. The Braj
 present participle करत is pronounced as कर्त् since one syllable only
 precedes the accented penultimate; but the Hindi करता is कर्ता as two
 syllables precede the accented ता. The accent leads to the shortening
 of the preceding vowels in some cases. Thus गोपाल 'a cowherd,' and
 पाताल 'the lower regions,' are sometimes pronounced and written as
 गुपाल and पताल; so does अशिष् become असीस. In such words as उपज
 'produce,' उसास 'respiration,' and उबटन, 'a cosmetic,' from the Pr.
 उपपज्ज, उत्सास, and उबटण, Skr. उत्पद्य, उच्छ्वास, and उद्धर्तन, it prevents
 the lengthening of the initial उ, as by the general rule it should be long,
 since one member of the following double consonant is dropped. The
 derived accent also shortens the preceding vowels in such instances
 as the following :—

42. H. रहिना southern, Pr. राहिणओ, Skr. रक्षिणकः.

H. दिया a lamp, Pr. दीवओ, Skr. दीपकः

H. जुआ gambling, Pr. जूअओ, Skr. यूतकः (by a change of gender).

H. अगला foremost, the first part of which is आग, from Pr. अग्ग, Skr. अद्ग.

H. अपना one's own.....आप from Pr. अप्प, Skr. आत्प.

H. इकट्ठा togetherएक.

H. फिरा walked, पिया drunk, सिया sewn, छुआ touched, past participles of फीरना, पीना, सीना, छूना, &c.

In the same way it prevents the lengthening of a preceding vowel in such cases as उपजना 'to be produced,' उठना 'to rise,' उडना 'to fly,' the last two being derived from the Prākṛit उत्थाण and उडुयन.

But in a great many cases the accent does not affect the preceding close vowels. The Sanskrit words सुतक, पीतल, &c., the first syllable of which is shortened in Marāṭhī, retain it long in the Hindi. The words उपज, उपजना, उसास, and others have their initial vowel optionally lengthened, and in a few cases, such as ऊपर and ऊखल, it is lengthened without any apparent reason. Similarly, the Hindi forms of कीटक and the other words in Table 6 retain the long vowel. It has also बीड़ी, झूरी, and सूजी as in Table 35, and नीला, 'blue,' पीला, 'yellow,' सीखा, 'learnt,' भीगा, 'wet,' मीठा, 'sweet,' पूछा, 'asked,' मूआ, 'dead,' सीखना, 'to learn,' पूछना, 'to ask,' दूसरा, &c., while in all these cases the Marāṭhī has short इ and उ. Perhaps this weakening of the accent as regards previous ई and ऊ is due to the development of another accent in Hindi on the initial syllable. To such an accent as this might be attributed the almost universal change of अय and अव to ऐ and औ that we have already noticed. The अ of the initial syllable, being accented, draws to itself the य or व of the following and deprives it of its अ, in which case the य or व becomes इ or उ, and then the two form ऐ and औ.

The Gujarātī follows the Hindi completely, sometimes shortening the preceding vowels as in कुबो, मुबो, and कुमळो 'delicate,' 'tender,' and dropping it as in ससरो 'father-in-law,' (Skr. इवधुरकः), and आंगळी 'finger,' (Skr. अङ्गुलिका), sometimes preventing their being lengthened, as in उपज, उठनु, &c., and very often preserving them long, as in पूरो, 'full,' सीकनु, सीक्यो, &c. The Panjābī also keeps the short vowel in such cases as उत्तार 'uttorance,' उजाला 'light,' though a member of a double is dropped, and preserves the long in such cases as सीबा or सीवा, झूआ, कीडा, पूरा, पूरी 'a cake,' &c. It has even fewer instances of shortening than the Hindi. The Sindhi has झुआ

'gambling,' डिओ 'a lamp,' पितल &c., but has such words as सूतक 'mourning,' कीडो 'a worm,' बीडो 'a roll of betel leaves,' Skr. पीटकः, पीतो 'drunk,' &c. In a great many words such as सुको 'dried,' बुधो 'heard,' छुतो 'touched,' दुधो 'milked,' the vowel of the preceding syllable is short; but that is due not to the accent on the last syllable but to the peculiarity of the Sindhi not to lengthen the preceding vowel even when a member of a double is dropped.

The Bangālī is more like the Marāṭhī in this respect than like the Hindī. Thus we have भितर, H. भीतर 'in the interior,' घुका dry, H. सुखा; भिजा or भिगा 'wet,' H. भीजा or भीगा; किडा 'a worm,' H. कीडा; जुता 'shoes,' H. जुता; खिला 'a nail,' H. कीला; उपजन 'to be produced,' &c. It thus shortens इ and उ in the unaccented syllables like the Marāṭhī. The Oriyā follows the Bangālī, having झडा, Skr. झटक 'a knot of hair,' जुता 'shoes,' 'भिज , wet,' भितर 'in the interior,' &c. All these languages, however, treat the unaccented अ in words of three or more syllables as the Marāṭhī and Hindī do.

In Marāṭhī the termination of the oblique form of cases and that of the plural of neuter nouns in ए are also accented. The reason why they bear the accent will be considered hereafter. The accent on the causal termination in consequence of which the preceding vowels are shortened in the Hindī and the Gujarātī has already been mentioned. This also seems to be the same accent that we have been considering. Thus in G. शिवडाव 'make him sew,' or धोवडाव 'make him wash,' the आ being penultimate bears the accent and the final अ is dropped. Similarly in धोवडावहुं by the general rule, the final vowel being accented the penultimate अ is silent. It is because it is so, and the वहुं forms the conjunct व्हुं that the आ looks as if emphasized just as the first अ of अङ्चन and कर्ता is. In the Marāṭhī and other dialects also there is this accent in the case of the causal, and the preceding ई and ऊ are shortened; as in निजव् 'make him sleep,' निजव्हें 'to make one sleep,' from the original नीज 'sleep,' in करीव् 'cause him to do,' करिव्हें or करव्हें 'to cause one to do,' &c. In the standard Hindī the व is dropped but still the way of pronunciation remains the same as it was when it existed. In दिखाना 'to show,' for instance, the खा is pronounced as it would have been if the word had been दिखावना. And the forms with व exist in the Braj.

Compounds in the vernaculars, most of which belong to the Tatpuruṣa, Karmadhāraya, or Dvandva class have an accent on the penultimate or final of the last word, as in the H. पन्साल 'a place where

water is provided for passengers,' in which the first word पानी becomes पन्, अमराई 'a forest of Mango-trees' in which the आ of आम is shortened, घुइसाँल 'a stable,' in which we have घुइ for घोडा, रनवास 'harem' the रन् of which is a shortened form of रानी, and in the G. अध्मुई 'half dead,' and the M. अध्मण 'half a maund.' In the Marāṭhī, आम्नाई, रान्माणूस, काक्मांजर, the आ of the first syllable is short though not changed to अ; and in तिर्कांबटे 'an arrow and a bow,' the first word is तीर with the ई shortened.

An unaccented initial vowel is dropped in the following instances :—

43. Skr. उपविश, sit, Pr. उवइस, M. H. B. O. बैस, G. बैस, S. बिह.

Skr. उपविष्टः, sat, Pr. उवइओ, H. P. बैठा, G. बैठो, S. बीठो.

Skr. अभ्यन्तर inside, H. भीतर, B. M. (dial.) भितर.

Skr. अरघह a water-wheel, Pr. अरहह ? H. रहट, M. रहाट.

Skr. अभ्यञ्जनकम् to soak, M. भिजणें, H. भीजना, G. भिजवुं, B. भिजिवा.

Skr. एकस्थकम् in one place, Pr. एकहअं, H. P. कडा or इकडा.

Skr. उपरि above, Pr. उवरि, M. वर.

Skr. उत्सृष्टः left, Pr. उत्सृओ, H. झुटा 'what is left after eating.'

Skr. उपाध्याय a preceptor, M. पाध्या, P. पाधि.

Skr. उद्वृकः, Pr. उद्वओ a bridegroom, H. P. वल्हा.

Of the two instances of this change in the Prakṛits लावू 'a pumpkin' exists in Hindī, and रण्ण in the form of रान in M. and P. and of रन in H. Medial ऐ is dropped in Marāṭhī, Bangālī, and Oriyā in the word बैस, and the others enumerated before. It is dropped in the G. माणी for H. मौसी (see p. 134). This elision does not appear to be due to accent since according to our theory it must fall on the ऐ in some at least of the cases. The change is due to the process of softening, since what takes place here is the simple dropping away of the close element of the diphthong.

We will now briefly notice the manner in which the hiatus caused by two vowels coming together in consequence of the elision of uninitial consonants in the Prakṛits is avoided. We have seen that अ and इ and अ and उ are combined into ऐ and औ in some of the dialects, and into ए and ओ in others.* Final unaccented अ and आ are dropped when preceded by इ or उ as in the words given in list No. 35, and unaccented उ preceded by अ is dropped in some of the vernaculars, as in list No. 36, and combined into ओ or ऊ in others.† Final इ is preserved or changed to यू after अ in some cases, and combined with it to

* Pp. 123-127. † See p. 137.

form ई in others.* Final accented आ and उ or ऊ are preserved and a hiatus is tolerated ; as in H. P. जुआ or जूआ for छूतक and S. P. पिउ, माउ, and the M. भाऊ for पितृक, मातृका, भ्रातृक, &c. Sometimes य् or व् are inserted in such cases after इ and उ, as in H. दिवा for दिआ 'a lamp,' and M. जुवा, H. जूवा for छूतक. The syllable अव formed in the Prākṛits by interposing a य् between अ and अ is changed to ऐ in modern Hindī as in the words in list No. 16 and to ए in the Gujarātī and the Sindhī. This latter was the older process ; and hence even in the Prākṛits we have केल for कयल, Skr. कवल, and तेरह, तेवीसा, तेनीता for त्रयोदश, त्रयोविंशति, त्रयस्त्रिंशत्, &c. And in Hindī also we have ऐ in बेर 'a plum' from बयर for Skr. बद्दर, which must have existed in the Prākṛits though the form given by the Grammarians is बोर for बद्दर. Though the Marāṭhī does not, like the Hindī or Gujarātī, now change अय to ऐ or ए, still as formerly observed, when in a state of formation, it did form ए out of it, as in the instances there given, and in the neuter singular termination ए.† The termination नेर occurring at the end of the names of Gujarātī and Marāṭhī towns such as चापानेर बडनेर, संगमनेर, पिपळनेर, &c., is derived from Pr. नवर for Skr. नगर 'town.' The syllables अया arising from अ and आ are also sometimes changed to ए, as in H. अंधेर or अंधेरा, M. अंधेर, Pr. अन्धवार, Skr. अन्धकार. After आ the य् is sometimes changed to ऐ and ए in the Hindī and Gujarātī as in the instances in No. 18 and 20, and also in the Marāṭhī in the instance शेळी from Pr. छाअलिआ, Skr. छागलिका ; but often आय and अया remain unchanged as in

44. H. G. कायर timid, Pr. कायर, Skr. कातर.

H. G. M. घाय a wound or blow, Pr. घाअ or घाय, Skr. घात.

H. वाय wind, Pr. वाअ or वाय, Skr. वात.

M. पाय the foot, Pr. पाअ or पाय, Skr. पाद.

M. H. G. राय a king, Pr. राआ or राया, Skr. राजा.

H. गया gone, G. गयो, Pr. गअओ or गयओ, Skr. गतकः.

G. शियाळो the cold season, S. शियारो, Pr. शीअआ(वा)लओ, Skr. शीतकालकः.

II. बरात, M. वरात a bridal procession, Skr. वरयात्रा.

Sometimes the interposed य् is so light that it is dropped and the vowels अ and आ or आ and अ and in rare cases अ and अ combine and form आ as in

* Pp. 137-38.

† P. 124.

45. B. पा, and B. G. घा for पाव and घाव in the above.

M. आ of आला, Pr. आअअ, Skr. आगत.

M. कुंभार a potter, Pr. कुम्भार, Skr. कुम्भकार, and generally the termination कार as in सुवर्णकार 'a goldsmith' and others; also M. अंधार for अंधकार.

M. आर a Boa constrictor, Pr. अअअर, Skr. अजगर.

G. वाजुं a promise, Pr. वअणअं, Skr. वचनकम्.

In some cases व् is inserted instead of य् to prevent the hiatus, as in M. राव for राअ 'a king,' II. पाव for पाअ 'the foot,' M. साव in सावली for छाअ in छाया, कावरा for Pr. काअरअ, Skr. कातरक, काव in कावळा for Pr. काअ from Skr. काक, and a few others. In the principal Prākṛit also we find पीवलअं for Skr. पीतलकम् 'yellow,' from which we have the Marāṭhī पिवळें, and बोर mentioned above.

A medial अ is dropped after इ, ए, or उ short or long, as in M. रीर for Pr. रिअर 'husband's brother,' G. पीळुं, II. पीला 'yellow' for Pr. पीअलअं, Skr. पीतलकम्, M. शिळें 'stale,' II. सीला 'damp,' 'cool,' Pr. सीअलअं, Skr. शीतलकम्; M. वेण 'a throe,' Pr. वेअणा, Skr. वेदना, M. जुळ or जुळें 'twins,' Pr. जुअलं or जुअलअं, Skr. युगलम् or युगलकम्. Sometimes with the previous इ, it forms ए; that is a vowel partaking of the character of both is substituted for them; as in the S. नेलु 'a fetter,' Pr. निअळो, Skr. निगडः; II. P. नेडे or नेरे 'near,' Pr. निअडे, Skr. निकटे; M. चोंडी 'the tuft of hair on the head,' Pr. सिहण्डिआ, Skr. शिखण्डिका, the ह being softened to अ; II. बेना 'a fan,' Pr. विअणअ, Skr. व्यजनक. नेडे has the form नीडे also in which case अ is simply dropped and the vowel rendered long as in the M. रीर. The long आ is preserved and changes the preceding इ to इय or य as in the II. सियार or स्यार 'jackal,' for Pr. सिआल, Skr. सृगाल, ब्याह 'marriage,' for Pr. विआह, Skr. विवाह, &c.

We will now proceed to the consideration of consonantal changes; and first of those due to the process of softening. The semivowel य् is often softened to इ. In the Prākṛits व्यजन 'a fan' becomes विअण which is preserved in the II. बेना, and स्त्यान is changed to रीण. This word does not occur in the vernaculars, but the Hindī and Marāṭhī have got यिजना and यिजणें 'to congeal' from the verb स्स्यायते, in which या is softened to इ. From व्यजन or rather such a word as व्यञ्जन we have by a similar softening M. विजणा, II. बिजना. G. विजणो, S. विमिणु. More modern instances are

46. II. P. सलाई, P. सळई, Pr. सलाया, M. सळई a pencil, probe, Skr. शलाका.

B. शोल a dart, Skr. शल्य; the य being changed to इ is transferred to the preceding syllable.

H. P. जनेत a bridal procession, Skr. जन्ययाचा.

H. झाई shadow, P. छाईया, Skr. छाया.

H. P. बितीत passed, Skr. व्यतीत.

H. P. बिथा pain, Skr. व्यथा; बिबहार business, performance, Skr. व्यवहार.

H. P. कलिआण welfare, Skr. कल्याण, बिदिआ learning, Skr. विद्या.

P. पतीज faith, belief, Skr. प्रत्यय.

H. पतिछ visible, Skr. प्रत्यक्ष.

The Panjābī always dissolves a Sanskrit य contained in a conjunct into इ + अ, or sometimes into इ simply, while the Hindi often resorts to the latter change. The other languages do not seem to possess many instances of this process. The change of अय or अया to ए formerly noticed is also due to this softening process.

In the Prākṛits व् is dissolved into उ in झुपी for Skr. ध्वनि, सुवइ for स्वपिति, दु for द्वि, तुवर for त्वर, &c. In Hindi we have झुन in the sense of 'a slight resemblance,' a remote sound of the property possessed by another. But another derivative from the word exists in the form of धुन or धून in that language, and of धून or धुनक in Marāṭhī. From सुव H. has सो 'to sleep,' P. सो, G. सुव, and B. and O. सु or सुइ, दु occurs in the forms of दो or दु when the word stands alone or is compounded, as in H. दुना, B. दुना, M. दुणा, &c., for Pr. दुडण, Skr. द्विगुण 'two-fold;' and तुवर by a further dissolution becomes the P. तुरना 'to go,' H. P. तुरंत, G. तरत 'instantly,' *pr. part.*, M. तूर्त 'at present.' More modern instances are:—

47. H. P. परोस to serve food, Skr. परिवेष.

H. P. M. पडोसी a neighbour, Skr. प्रतिवेशी.

H. अंगोछा a towel, Skr. अङ्गवस्त्र.

H. पतोहू son's wife, Pr. पुत्तवहू, Skr. पुत्रवधू.

H. P. जनेऊ, Pr. जण्णोवीअ, Skr. यज्ञोपवीत.

The व् and वं to which प and म are softened are similarly changed to उ or ओ.

H. P. बहनोई sister's husband, Pr. बहिनीवई, Skr. भगिनीपति.

H. P. भासो name of a month, Pr. भववअ, Skr. भाद्रपद.

H. P. G. खो-[ना-या-नुं] to lose, Pr. खव, Skr. क्षप.

H. P. B. छू to touch, Pr. छिव or छुव, Skr. छुप.

H. अनोखा unexpected, Pr. अणवेकख-[अ], Skr. अनपेक्ष-[क].

H. नोता, P. नेउंदा, G. नोतरुं, invitation, Ap. निवंच-[उ] or निवंच-[उ], Skr. निमन्त्र-[कः]. H. has नेवता also.

H. पुन्वीं the full-moon day, Ap. पुण्णिवां, Skr. पूर्णिमा.

H. सौह (of सौहीं) face to face, Ap. संबुह, Skr. संमुख.

M. सौप to entrust, Ap. सवंप, Skr. समर्प.

It will be seen that the ओ or उ to which व् is softened often prevails over the preceding and following vowels, as in the words परोस and पडोसी. The change of अव to औ formerly noticed I consider as due to the elision of the final अ of व consequent upon an accent on the first syllable, though afterwards there is a softening of the व् to उ. But in the above instances the change of व् to ओ or उ is due to a weak pronunciation or softening alone. The diphthong औ requires, as I have several times observed, a passage from one vocal position immediately to another which involves energetic utterance. The Pāli, Prākṛit, Gujarātī, and Sindhī substitute for it, viz., औ is due to assimilation. The Hindī औ and the corresponding Gujarātī औ, therefore, are not due to a weakening of the व्; but the औ in the above instances is, since it is not a substitute for औ and consequently does not arise from an assimilation of the two sounds, involved in that diphthong.

The following are still more modern instances:—

48. H. P. परमेसुर God, Skr. परमेश्वर.

M. H. P. सुर or सूर a musical note, Skr. स्वर.

H. P. सुभाउ nature, Skr. स्वभाव.

P. सुआमी master, Skr. स्वामी.

In this manner the Panjābīs always pronounce the व् of Sanskrit words and to a smaller extent the Hindī people. The Marāṭhī has not many instances of this softening of व्.

In the Prākṛits there are according to the grammarians but three instances of the change of क् to the sonant ग्. Of these गेनुअ for Skr. कन्नुक occurs in the vernaculars.* With these exceptions the initial क् remains unchanged and the medial is dropped. But the vernaculars, adopting pure Sanskrit words again and again in the course of their history, have changed them as we have seen or changed the Prākṛit words that came down to them in virtue of the general or special laws which regulate the development of human speech. Thus, though

* See Table 22.

they did not receive more words with a softened क् from the Prākṛits they have now come to possess a good many. Thus :—

49. M. सगळा, P. सगरा, सगला, or सगल, H. सगल or सगला, G. सगळो all or whole, Skr. सकल or सकलकः.

M. बगळा, H. P. बगला, G. बगलो, S. बगो, B. O. बग, Skr. बक or बककः a crane.

M. H. P. G. परगढ or प्रगढ, S. प्रघट्ट visible, manifest, Skr. प्रकट.

H. P. G. B. काग, S. कांग् a crow, Skr. काकः. H. has कौवा or कौआ from Pr. काभ with the suffix कः i.e., ओ, M. काव of कावळा, also.

H. लोग, S. लोग् or लोक people, the world, Skr. लोकः. The others have लोक.

H. P. साग, S. सागु greens, culinary herbs, Skr. शाकः. The others have शाक.

H. सगुन, P. सगन, G. सगन or सगन, S. सगुनु, B. सगुन an auspicious omen, Skr. शकुनः, M. शकुन. S. has सोणु also from the Pr. सडणो.

H. P. सोग, S. सोगु grief, Skr. शोकः. The others have शोक.

H. P. बिगा crooked, Pr. वङ्कुअ, Skr. वक्रक. The others have बांक or बांक.

P. सगरांश्च passage of the sun into a sign, Skr. संक्रान्ति. The others have संक्रांत.

P. संगोच contraction, bashfulness, Skr. संकोच; H. सकोच or सकुच, M. संकोच.

च् is softened to the sonant ञ् as in the following :—

50. H. सूजी a needle, Skr. सूचि; also 'a tailor' from Skr. सूचिक.

H. G. सूज- or सूझ-[ना and हुं] to be suggested, Skr. सूच्य.

H. कुंजी a key, Skr. कुञ्चिका.

P. S. पंज five, Skr. पञ्च, P. मंजी a small bedstead, Skr. मञ्जिका. There are not many instances of this process.

The Prākṛits change an uninitial द् to ड् when preceded by a vowel; and the vernaculars have preserved the words so changed. For instance :—

51. Skr. घटकः a jar, M. H. घडा, G. S. घडो, H. P. घदा.

Skr. घट to happen, to occur, to forge, to fashion, M. S. G. घड-[जे-नु-हुं], H. P. घड-[ना].

Skr. घटिका a measure of time, M. G. S. O. B. घडी, H. P. घदी.

Skr. घोटकः a horse, M. O. B. घोडा, G. S. घोडो, H. P. घोदा.

Skr. तट a bank, M. तड, O. तडा. S. तडो in an altered sense.

Skr. कपाट a door, M. कवाड, H. किवाड, G. कमाड.

Skr. कटु bitter, M. कडु, G. कडुं, H. कडुवा, S. कडो.

Skr. कटि waist, M. कड, G. केड.

Skr. कटकम् a bracelet, M. कडें, H. O. कडा, G. कडु.

Skr. रद् or भारद् to cry, M. रड in रडयें or आरडयें, G. S. रड-[डुं-गु].

Skr. घाटिका a garment, M. G. साडी, H. P. साडी, S. शाडी, B. O.

घाडी.

Skr. वटः the Banyan tree, M. G. वड, H. P. बड, S. बडु.

Skr. चोट in चोटयति to snap, तोड in M. तोडयें, G. तोडवुं, H. P. तोडना, S. तोडणु.

Skr. स्फोट in स्फोटयति to break, फोड in M. फोडयें.

Skr. मुकुट or मुकुटक a crown, H. P. मौडा, B. O. मडड.

Skr. कुटज a kind of tree, M. कुडा.

Skr. पटोल a kind of cucumber, M. पडवळ, H. परवल, G. परवळ.

Skr. कीटकः a worm, M. किडा, G. किडो, H. कीडा.

The instances in which the cerebral *ट्* resulting from an original *त्* has been softened in the Prākṛits to *ड्* have been preserved by the vernaculars. The following are some of these:—

52. पड for Pr. पडि, Skr. प्रति, in such words as H. G. पडोसी a neighbour, M. पडोशी, Skr. प्रतिवेशी; M. पडसाद, Skr. प्रतिशब्द echo; M. पडसैं, Skr. प्रतिश्याय cold, catarrh, and also in M. पडछाया reflection, and पडलाळा proof; G. पडसाळ, Skr. प्रतिशाला a penthouse, G. पडचा, Skr. प्रतिचात echo or resonance; हरडा or हरडी and बेहरडा as in Table 29; M. पुढें forward, so forth, Pr. पड्डि, Skr. प्रभृति; पड of M. पडने, G. पडवुं, H. पडना to fall, Pr. पड, Skr. पत्; मडें M. a corpse from Pr. मडअ, Skr. मृतकम्; उखाडना to dig out, to root out, from the Skr. उखात.

Of the change of *त्* to *ड्* there are some instances in the Śauraseni, and corresponding to these we have a few in the Panjābī, Sindhī, and Gujarātī, thus:—

53. P. जीउंदा 'living,' Śaur. *pres. part.* जीवन्तो, Skr. जीवन्त; दा of the present participle of roots, as करदा *masc.* 'doing,' आखदा *masc.* 'saying,' &c. A modern instance is सगरांदा for the Sanskrit संक्रान्ति. The Sindhī preserves the Śauraseni present participial affix न्तो or अन्तो sometimes changed to इन्तो throughout, as in हलन्तो 'moving,' करीन्तो 'doing,' हुन्तो 'being,' &c. The same change is observable in other words also as in खांदि for Sanskrit क्षान्ति. The Gujarātī has a few instances of the Śauraseni past passive participle in द as in खावुं 'eaten,' पीवुं 'drunk,' कीवुं 'done,' &c. Marāṭhī has वेंद for Skr. मुन्द् 'belly,' and Gujarātī वुंव.

The labial surd *प्* is, when uninitial, softened in the Prākṛits to *ड्*. The *ड्* is preserved by the Marāṭhī unchanged, but the Hīndī softens it in some cases still further to *ड* as already shown (p. 167), and drops it

in a great many more cases, according to a very general rule to be hereafter noticed, while the Gujarâtî changes it sometimes to *स्*. The Sindhî and Bangâlî follow the Hindî to a large extent in this latter respect.

54. Skr. वापी a well, Pr. बावी, M. बाव, H. G. बाव in बावडी, S. बाइ, P. बाउ in बाउडी.

Skr. कूपकः a well, Pr. कूवो, G. कुवो, H. कुआ, S. कुहो for कुओ.

Skr. कपाट a door, Pr. कवाड, M. कवाड, H. किवाड, G. कमाड.

Skr. प्राप to reach, attain, Pr. पाव, M. पाव (in पावणें), G. पाम-[ङ्], H. पा-[ना], S. पाइ-[णु], B. पाओ-[वा].

Skr. प्रस्थाप to send, Pr. पहाव, M. पाठव-[णें], old H. पठव-[ना], H. पठा-[ना], S. पठ-[णु].

Skr. छुप to touch, Pr. छिव or छुव, M. शिव-[णें], H. P. B. छू-[ना &c.], O. छुं or छुइ, S. छुअ-[णु] or छुह-[णु].

Skr. ताप to heat, Pr. ताव, M. G. H. ताव-[णें-बुं-ना], S. ताइ-[णु]

Skr. नापित a barber, Pr. नाविअ or न्हाविअ, M. न्हावी, G. नावी, H. S. नाई.

Skr. गोपाल-लिक a cowherd, Pr. गोवाल-लिअ, M. गोवळा, M. G. गवळी, G. गोवाळियो, H. गोवाली, ग्वाल (=गोआल), ग्वाली, S. गवार.

Skr. कच्छपः a tortoise, Pr. कच्छवो, H. कछूआ, S. कछुं, कछुं, M. कासव.

Skr. सपत्नी a fellow-wife, Pr. सवत्ती, M. सवत, H. सौत.

Skr. भाद्रपद name of the sixth month, Pr. भद्रवअ, M. भाद्रवा, H. भारो, S. बड़ो.

The lingual surd aspirate *ढ* is, it will be remembered, changed in the Prākṛits to *ड*, and the vernaculars, especially the Hindî, have preserved the instances and even added to them, as will be seen from the following :—

55. Skr. पठ to read, Pr. पढ, M. H. P. S. पढ in पढणें-ना-णु. In H. and P., however, the pronunciation of *ड* is somewhat different from what it is in M., and in S. it sounds like the conjunct *ड्ह*.

Skr. पीठक a stool, Pr. पीठअ, H. पीठा.

Skr. पीठिका a series (of generations), Pr. पीठिआ, H. पीठी, M. पिथी, G. पेठी.

Skr. मठ or मठिका a small temple, Pr. मढ, H. P. मढी, old M. मढ.

Skr. षट्, Pr. षाढ, H. डाढ, M. G. षाढ.

Similarly we have H. लुटना 'to roll' from Skr. लुट्. In the word षाढा the *ढा* does not represent *ष्ट* but *ड* to which that Skr. conjunct must, by the general rules, be reduced in the Prākṛits. One of the two *ड* is dropped and the preceding vowel lengthened according to a general

rule in the vernaculars to be hereafter noticed. The remaining *इ* is then softened to *इ*. There are other instances of the same change in our dialects.

56. वेड of M. वेड्ये, S. वेडहणु, वेड of H. वेडना, वेड of B. वेडन 'to surround' from Skr. वेड through Pr. वेड. The Gujarâti, however, has वेड्यु.

काड of M. काड्ये, G. काड्यु, H. काडना; कड of S. कडणु, B. काड 'to draw out,' from Pr. कड, Skr. कृड.

कूड of H. कूडना to mourn, from Pr. कुड, Skr. कृड. Even here the Gujarâti has कूड्यु.

H. कोड, M. G. कोड, S. कोइ white leprosy, from Skr. कुड through Pr. कोड.

The *इ* arising from the Sanskrit *ए* is also similarly changed to *इ*. M. सडळ, H. डीला, &c., from Skr. शिथिल as in Table 29.

M. कड्ये to boil, काडा decoction, कडी curry, कडई a cauldron, G. कड्यु, काडो, &c. H. कडना, काडा, कडी, &c., all from the Skr. root कथ्.

We have noticed the change of *इ* to *इ* and *ल* and of *इ* to *ल* in the Prākṛits. Not only have the vernaculars preserved the words so changed, but have carried on the process to such an extent that *ल* and *इ* have become mutually interchangeable in some of them, especially the Hindi.

57. Skr. तडाग a tank, Pr. तलाभ, M. G. तळाव, M. तळै, H. तलाव, S. B. तलाड.

Skr. शडिम pomegranate, Pr. शलिम, M. डाळिब, G. शळम, H. B. डालिम, H. शलिम.

Skr. गुड molasses, Pr. गुल, M. गूळ.

Skr. पीड of पीडयति to torment, to twist. Pr. पील, M. पिळ्ये, G. पीळ्यु, H. पिलना, &c.

The numerals with their *वृ* changed in the Prākṛits to *इ* through an intermediate *इ* have come down to the vernaculars :—

Skr.	Pr.	H.	P.	S.	M.	G.	O.	B.
58. एकावस	एआरह	ग्यारह	यारां or गिआरां	वारहं कारहं	अकरा अग्यार एगार एगार			
द्वावस	बारह	बारह	बारां	बारहं		बारा	बार	बार
त्रयोवस	तेरह	तेरह	तेरां	तेरहं		तेरा	तेर	तेर
चतुर्वस	चडह	चौवह	चौरां	चौडहं		चौदा	चौह	चौद
पञ्चवस	पण्णरह	पंन्नह	पंनरां	पंन्नहं-पंन्नां		पंधरा	पंधर	पंनर
षोडश	सोलह	सोलह	सोलां	सोरहं		सोळा	सोळ	षोहल
सप्तवस	सत्तरह	सन्नह	सतारां	सन्नहं		सतरा	सत्तर	सत्तर
अष्टावस	अठारह	अठारह	अठारां	अडहं		अठरा	अठार	अठर

The other Prākṛit words *कोठल* and *कलम्ब* in which the *क* of the Sanskrit *कोठ* and *कलम्ब* is changed to *ल* are preserved in Marāṭhī in the forms of *कोवाडा* and *कळंब*. Similarly *हरिद्रा* and *अंजार* with the *र* so changed appear in the vernaculars as shown before.*

The following are later instances :—

१०. B *कोन*, G. *खोटो* Skr. *कोड* lap; B. *बुन*, Skr. *बुड* lock of hair; H. *मग* for Pr. *मडभ*, Skr. *मृगक* a corpse; H. *परछाई*, Pr. *पडिछाया*, Skr. *प्रतिच्छाया*; H. *वेगना* or *विगना*, Skr. *विडम्बन* mocking; G. *करखुं*, from Skr. *कार* to resist; G. *पानखुं* from Skr. *पार* to tide over; H. *बहकना* from Skr. *विह्वल* to amuse one's self; S. *निभर*, *नेड* or *नेनु* fathers, from Skr. *निगड*; H. P. *नेरे* Pr. *निभरे*, Skr. *निगडे* near.

Though the change of *क* to *र* does not involve softening but must be considered to be due to a predilection for the sound, it would be somewhat anomalous to note. There is only one instance of this change given by Haradisastra as existing in the Mahārishṭrī, but there are a great many in the vernaculars, so that this appears to be a peculiarly modern process. The Hindi and the Sindhi have, however, of all the vernaculars, the largest number of examples, the rest presenting but a few striking ones. Sometimes both the forms with *क* and *र* are in use, especially in the Hindi.

११. S. *बूबल*, Pr. *बूंग*, M. *योर*, large, great.

१२. S. *कण*, M. S. *कंगर*, S. *कंगर*, Skr. *लाङ्गल* a plough, or anchor.

१३. *कोर* or *कोर*, Skr. *करक* a morsel; *धूर* or *धूल* Skr. *धूलि* dust; *सिना* Skr. *सूयाल*, *सुयाल*, *सगवना*, Pr. *सनाह*, Skr. *शब्* to praise; *हुका*, Skr. *हुक* a small hand; *सिकरी*, Skr. *शुक्ला* a chain; *करन*, Skr. *काल* *करन* or *करन* to burn, *सांवरी* Braj for *सांवला*, Skr. *शामलक* bark.

१४. *सांवरी*, Skr. *शामलक* bark; *पिपिर*, Skr. *पिप्पल* a certain tree; *गविरु*, Skr. *गविल* to light or burn, *पविरु*, Skr. *प्रयल* to melt; *हर* Skr. *हर* a light etc.

१५. *अमरा*, Skr. *अमरिका* a high mansion, M. *खेवरी* or *सांवरी*, Skr. *शामलक* the silk cotton tree.

Nearly instances of the interchangeableness of *क*, *र* and *ल* are affected by the nasal forms of nasal roots in some of the vernaculars. In Hindi the nasal of roots ending in a vowel is formed by inserting *क* between *र* and the termination *आ* which is the remnant of the old Prākṛit *आव* preserved in the Braj, and other dialects; as *पिल्लवा* *काव*.

* See p. 120 and Table 22.

of पी 'to drink,' खिलाना of खा 'to eat,' दिलाणा of दे 'to give,' धुलाना of धो 'to wash,' &c. In Gujarātī we have ड् for ल् as खडाडुं 'to cause to eat,' देवाडुं 'to cause to give,' 'न्हवाडुं' to cause to bathe,' 'wash,' &c. Sometimes instead of ड्, ण् is optionally used as in खवरावणुं 'to cause to eat,' बीहीवरावणुं 'to threaten,' &c. But in Sindhi ण् always represents the Hindi ल् and the Gujarātī ड्, as in दिआरणु 'to cause to give,' धुआरणु 'to cause to wash,' वेहारणु 'to cause to sit.' What the origin is of the ड् of these forms which is more primitive than the ल् and ण् to which it was afterwards changed will be considered in the next lecture.

Another peculiarly vernacular process of which Hemachandra gives only one instance, is the transformation of न् into ल् in which न् is deprived of its nasal element, and the complete contact of the vocal organs avoided. Thus :—

61. Skr. निम्ब, a certain tree, Pr. लिम्ब or निम्ब, M. लिब.

M. लवणें to bow, Skr. नमन; लोणी butter, Skr. नवनीन; H. लौटना to return, Skr. निवर्त, Pr. निवह; G. लील blue, Skr. नील; P. लले, a cocoanut, Skr. नारीकेल, H. नारियेल.

But there are more instances of the opposite process in the Prakrits; and these have come down to the vernaculars.

62. M. G. नांगर a plough or anchor, P. नङ्गल or लङ्गल; M. निदळ, S. निराडु, Pr. निडाल or णडाल, Skr. ललाट forehead. Later instances are H. नून salt, Skr. लवण; G. न्हाल, H. न्हाजा, M. dial. न्हान, Skr. लघु, with some such termination as ल.

The sibilant स् whether original or derived from the Sanskrit ञ् or ञ् is in a few cases changed to ह् in the Prakrits. For दिवस 'a day,' we have दिवह or दिअह, for पाषाण 'a stone,' पहाण, and for दशन् 'ten' दह. These words, so changed, have come down to the vernaculars, and are found in one or other of them. The various forms of the numerals having the word दश at the end have been given above. Of the other words G. has दिह 'a day,' and दिहाडो with the suffix डा, P. दिह and दिहाडा, and S. दिहु and दिहाडो; and S. पहणु 'a stone.' The Sindhi and the Panjābī have given a wider range to this process, as will be seen from the following:—

63. S. डुह or डुहो chaff, Skr. दुस, M. भुसा.

S. बिह lotus-stalk, Skr. बिस, M. भिसें.

S. भैहि a buffalo, Skr. महीषी, M. म्हेस.

S. बेहणु to sit, Skr. उपविश, M. बैसणें, G. बेसणुं.

S. बेसाडु trust, Skr. विश्वास.

P. बीह, S. बीह twenty, Skr. विंश-[ति], M. बीस.

P. विह or विस, S. विह or विखु poison, Skr. विष, M. विख.

P. सहरा, S. सहरो, Skr. इवशुर, M. सासरा father-in-law.

P. तिहा thirst, Skr. तृषा.

P. फाहा or फाही, S. फाहो or फाही a snare, noose, Skr. पाश, M. फांस.

Gujarātis, especially of the uneducated classes, pretty freely pronounce स as ह, as in हमजवुं for समजवुं 'to understand,' बरह for वरस 'a year,' हावुं for सावुं 'true,' &c., but the forms with स are also in use. The other dialects do not seem to have many instances of this change. The termination स of verbs of the future tense is in several dialects of the Hindi changed to ह as in करिहै, G. करसे 'he will do.'

The change of म to व seems to be an almost entirely later process of which there are scarcely any instances in the Prākṛits. It is seen in full operation in the Apabhraṃśa.

64. Skr. नाम name, M. नांव, H. नाओं, old H. नाऊ, also नाम, P. नांउ S. नांउ, also नामु and नालो.

Skr. शम a tying rope, M. शवें, P. शंउ, H. शंव in शंवरी.

Skr. ग्राम a village, M. H. गांव, H. गाम, also; S. गांउ, गामु.

Skr. भ्रमण to turn round, M. भौवणें, P. भौणा, S. भौणणु; from the same root, M. भौवळ, H. भंवर, S. भौरी.

Skr. नमन, M. लवणें, H. नवना-नौना-नेवना.

Skr. अवनमन to bow down, M. ओणवणें.

Skr. आचमन to rinse the mouth, M. आचंवणें, H. अंचवना, also अचाना.

Skr. विश्राम rest, M. विसांवा, S. वेसांहि,

Skr. इयामल dark-complexioned, M. सांवळा, H. सांवला-रा, P. सांवला and सामला, S. सांविलो.

Skr. जामातृक son-in-law, M. जांवई, but H. जमाई, P. जवाइ or जमाइ.

Skr. उद्गमन rising, M. उगवणें, but P. उग्गमणा.

Skr. आमलक a kind of myrobalans, M. P. आंवळा, H. P. आंवला, P. आमला also, S. आंउरो.

Skr. सामन्त a chief, M. H. सावंत.

Skr. चामर n, a sort of fly-brush, M. चौरी, H. P. चवंर, S. चंवर.

Skr. कमल a lotus, H. P. कंवल, M. कमळ, S. कंवल.

Skr. गमन caus. spending, wasting, H. गंवाना, P. गवाउणा, S. गंवाइणु but M. गमवणें.

Skr. भ्रमर a bee, H. भंवर or भौरा, P. भौर or भौरा, S. भौर.

Skr. पञ्चम fifth, M. पांचवा, H. पांचवां, P. पंजवां, &c., and other ordinals.

Skr. कोमल delicate, tender, M. कौवळा.

Skr. जमन eating, M. जेवण, H. जेवन, P. जेंउणा.

Skr. कर्म mud, H. काँरो, G. काव्व.

From the fact that the Marāṭhī, Hindi, Sindhī, and Panjābī contain many instances of this change it is to be gathered that though it does not appear in the Prakṛits proper it must have begun very early before the vernaculars received their distinctive forms and were isolated from each other. Of all the dialects the Marāṭhī alone has preserved the व् of this व् in most cases; the Hindi, and the others having dropped it or softened it to ड in a good many instances; while the Gujarāṭī changes it back again to म्. Thus, such of the above words as exist in Gujarāṭī have the following forms:—

65. नाम name.	चमरी a fly-brush.
गाम a village.	कमळ a lotus.
भमवुं to turn round, भमरी giddiness, corresponding to M. भोंवळ.	गमाववुं wasting.
विस्तारी rest.	भमरो a bee.
समळो dark-complexioned.	पांचमो, सातमो, &c., fifth, seventh, &c.
अमाइ son-in-law.	कमळो delicate, tender.
आमळा myrobalaus.	अमवुं eating.

The reason why I consider this as a change of व् back to म्, and not a preservation of the original Sanskrit and Prakṛit म्, is that the Gujarāṭī changes व् to म् in other cases where there is no question as to the व् (or वृ) being the original sound. Thus:—

66. G. कमाड a door, H. किवाड, M. कवाड, Pr. कवाड, Skr. कपाट; G. सिसम blackwood, M. सिसवा, Pr. सिसव, Skr. शिषप.

G. पाववुं to attain, M. पावर्णे, Pr. पाव, Skr. प्राप.

G. धाम in रोडधाम running, Skr. धाव्.

Where in Marāṭhī we have व् or वृ the Gujarāṭī has in some cases म् as in G. मुक्की 'a blow,' M. मुक्की, G. डाम 'a place of residence,' M. डाम, derived in some way from Skr. स्थाप. There are traces of this change in some of the other dialects too, as in S. P. मिनत्, B. मिनति, corresponding to M. विनन्ति, H. विनति, Pr. विष्पत्ति, Skr. वित्तति 'solicitation;' B. काछिम, Pr. कच्छव, Skr. कच्छप 'a tortoise;' H. धीमर, Skr. धीवर 'a fisherman;' old M. मात, G. वात, Skr. वार्ता 'news;' B. मुछ, H. पुछ-ना, Skr. प्रोच्छ 'to wipe away.' This phenomenon of the change of व् to म् the vernaculars, and especially the Gujarāṭī, have inherited from the Prakṛits. Of the words so charged the Gujarāṭī has preserved समजुं 'a dream,' the Prakṛit form being सिमिज or सुमिज, and some of the others, नीम 'kind of tree.' This last is नीप in Sanskrit; but probably there was an intermediate form नीव.

67. M. सीक learn, Pr. सिक्ख, H. सीख.
 M. भीक beggar, Pr. भिक्खा, H. भीख.
 M. सूकणें to dry, Pr. सुक्क or सुक्ख, H. सूखना.
 M. भूक hunger, Pr. बुद्धक्खा, H. भूख.
 M. हात hand, Pr. हत्थ, H. हाथ.
 M. हत्ती elephant, Pr. हत्थी, H. हाथी.
 G. बीनो afraid, Pr. भीदो or भीओ, M. भ्याला.
 G. बडाई greatness from Pr. वडु, H. वडाई.
 G. बगाडुं to spoil, Pr. बिण्ड, M. बिण्डणें.

B. पुति	a book,	Pr. पोथिआ,	H. M. पोथी.
B. पड	to learn,	Pr. पढ,	H. M., &c. पढ.
B. वाड	to grow,	Pr. वड्ड,	M. वाढ-[जें], H. बाढ-बढ-[ना].
B. वेड	to surround,	Pr. वेढ,	M. वेढ-[जें], H. बेढ-[ना], &c.
B. पातर	stone,	Pr. पत्थर,	M. पाथर, H. पत्थर or पाथर.
B. पिठ	back,	Pr. पिठ or पठ,	H. पीठ, M. पाठ.
B. साव	wish,	Pr. सझा,	S. P. साध.
B. शुक्	(in शुक्कान) to dry,	Pr. सुक्ख or सुक्क,	H. सूखना.
B. काड	(in काडिया) to take out,	Pr. कड,	H. M., &c. काढ.
B. पुक्कर	a pond,	Pr. पुक्खरिणी.	

Skr. वत्स a calf, Pr. वच्छ, II. बाछ, M. वास in वासकं.

- Skr. कुरिका a knife, Pr. कुरिका, H. कुरी, M. चुरी.
 Skr. मलिका a fly, Pr. मच्छिआ, H. माछी, M. माची.
 Skr. पृच्छ to ask, Pr. पुच्छ, H. पुछना, M. पुसनें.
 Skr. कच्छप a tortoise, Pr. कच्छव, H. कछुआ, M. कासव.
 Skr. कुक्षि a side of the abdomen, Pr. कुच्छि, M. कूस. The H. has कोख.
 Skr. क्षेत्र a field, Pr. छत्त, M. खेत. But H. has खेत.
 Skr. छुप to touch, Pr. छुव, H. छू-[ना], M. शिव-[ने].
 Skr. छाया shade, Pr. छाआ, H. छांव, M. सांव-[नी].
 Skr. गुच्छ a bunch, Pr. गोच्छ, H. गोच्छा, M. घोंस.
 Skr. उत्सङ्ग lap, Pr. ओच्छङ्ग, M. ओसंग.
 Skr. छागली a she-goat, Pr. छाअनी or छाली, H. छेरी, M. शेड़ी.
 Skr. क्षीण worn out, wasted, Pr. छीण, M. शीण-[ने].
 Skr. क्षण a festival, Pr. छण, M. सण.

According to a general rule in Marāthī स् is changed to ख when followed by the palatal vowel इ or ए. This change of छ to ख in this dialect is to be accounted for by the fact that the vocal organs of the Marāthās have a predilection for the dento-palatals, च, छ, ज, झ to which the Sanskrit palatals are in almost all cases reduced by them except when they are followed by इ, ए, or य. The Sanskrit छ therefore becoming the dento-palatal छ passes into ख which differs from it only in the contact of the vocal organs being somewhat less incomplete. The only instances in the Prākṛits in which the change appears to be the same as that we have been considering are ऊसवो for उच्छवो and कसुओ for उच्छुओ.

I have already given instances of the many words with their uninitial consonants dropped which the vernaculars have inherited from the Prākṛits, and shown what further changes they have undergone. This process of elision has not been continued by any of the vernaculars unless we consider the disappearance of uninitial ख which is very general in Hindī, Sindhī, and Bangālī to be an instance of the process.

69. B. H. दिया, S. डिओ lamp, Pr. दीवओ, Skr. दीपकः, M. दिवा.
 H. नवा, S. नओ new, Pr. नवओ, M. नवा.
 H. जी, S. जीउ life, Pr. जीओ, Skr. जीवः, M. जीव.
 H. S. नाई, B. नायि a barber, Pr. नाविअ or न्हाविअ, Skr. नापित, M. न्हावी.
 H. कछुआ, S. कछउ a tortoise, Pr. कच्छवओ, Skr. कच्छपकः, M. कांसव.

II. छू-[ना], S. छुअ-[ण], B. छो(छोया) to touch, Pr. छिव or छुव, Skr. छुप, M. छिव-[वें].

II. पा-[ना], S. पाइ-[ण], Pr. पाव, Skr. प्राप, M. पाव-[वें].

H. कुआ, S. कुहो for कुओ, B. कुया a well, Pr. कुवओ, Skr. कूपकः, G. कुवो.

II. ग्वाल=गोआल, B. गोयाला a cowherd, Pr. गोवालअ, Skr. गोपालक M. गोवळा.

H. व्याह,=विआह, S. विहाड marriage, Skr. विवाह.

H. पठा-[ना], S. पठ-[ण], B. पाठाइ-[वा] to send, Pr. पढव, Skr. प्रस्थाप, M. पाठव.

II. ता-[ना], S. ताइ-[ण] to heat, Pr. ताव, Skr. ताप, M. ताव-[वें].

II. दुआर, B. दोयार door, Pr. दुवार or दुआर, Skr. द्वार.

B. दुइ two, Pr. दुवे, Skr. द्वौ.

B. नय nine, Skr. नव, M. नव, H. नौ.

B. दोयाला moss, Skr. दोवाल, H. दोवाल.

This elision of व् appears also in the Hindî causal forms such as उठाना, चलाना, जलाना, in which the आ only of the Prâkṛit or Marâṭhî termination आव or अव is retained. The whole termination appears in the Braj and other dialects and in old books, sometimes in the form of औ. The Sindhî causal termination is आइ, as in कराइणु 'to cause to do,' वधाइणु 'to cause to increase.' The इ here as well as in some of the Sindhî words given above represents the य which according to the Prâkṛit rule takes the place of the dropped व, and is, as shown before, changed to ए in the other vernaculars. The Sindhî इ is a shortened form of this ए. The termination आइ appears sometimes in its more original form of आअ as in वडाअणु 'to cause to take.' The Bangâlî too forms its causal by adding आइ as in धराइतेछे 'is causing to be held;' but the इ here seems to be an euphonic addition, which even in their primitive form the verbs take, as in धरितेछे 'is holding,' so that the व् is here dropped and the vowel अ combined with the preceding as in the Hindî. In the speech of the Marâṭhâ lower classes of Southern Konkan व् is very often elided, and the causal termination of the Sâvantvâḍî dialect is अय, as in करय 'cause to do,' which corresponds to the Sindhî कराइ-[ण].

There are instances also in which the व् resulting from व् is elided as in H. कुअर 'a boy,' 'a prince,' Pr. कुमर, Skr. कुमार; बायां 'left-hand-side,' Pr. वामअ, Skr. वामक; धुआं 'smoke,' Pr. धूमअ, Skr. धूमक; अचाना 'to rinse the mouth,' Pr. Skr. आचम, बिराना or बेराना 'to mock,' Skr. बिडम्ब, भुई 'ground,' Skr. भूमि.

There are traces of this change in other dialects too, as in the Oriyâ

बां for वाम 'left,' Gujarāṭī बांय=भूई, S. भुइ, Skr. भूमि, and the Marāṭhī भुई and the termination ई of the locative which is to be traced to the Pr. स्मिन्, Skr. स्मिन्. In all these instances we may regard म् as directly elided, and not the व् resulting from it. Hemachandra notices a few instances of the process in the Prākṛits.

The vernaculars possess a large number of those Prākṛit words, in which the mute element of hard and soft aspirates was dropped leaving only the ह्. Thus :—

ख.

70. Skr. मुख face, Pr. मुह, H. मुंह, S. मुहु, G. मोहो; M. मोहरे, P. मुहरेहं (with the suffix र) in front, H. मोहरा; H. सौही, G. सामु-मो, M. समोर (with the suffix र) from Skr. संमुख face to face.

Skr. नख nail, Pr. बह, H. नह, S. नह, P. नहं.

Skr. चोखरकः a chaplet, Pr. सेहरओ, H. सिहरा or सेहरा, S. सिहरो, P. सिहरा.

Skr. सखी a female companion, Pr. सही, G. सही, H. S. P. सहेली, M. B. O. सई.

Skr. लिख to write, Pr. लिह, M. लिह-[वें.]

Skr. शिखण्ड a lock of hair or शिखण्डिका, Pr. सिहण्डिआ, M. सौडी.

Skr. सुखकर agreeable, Pr. सुहअर, H. सीहर.

Skr. आखेट hunt, Pr. आहेड (?) H. अहेर.

घ.

71. Skr. मेघ rain, Pr. मेह, G. H. मेह, S. मेहु.

Skr. श्लाघ् to praise, Pr. सलाह, H. सराह-[ना].

Skr. प्रायुषक a guest, Pr. पाहुणअ, M. पाहुणा, H. पाहुना.

Skr. लघु little, quick, Pr. लहु, M. लहान, G. न्हालु, H. नन्हा with some such suffix as ल.

To these must be added the several compounds of the word घर some of which at least are modern, as—

H. नैहर house of a woman's family of birth, Pr. नाइघर or नाइहर, Skr. ज्ञातिगृह.

H. पीहर, G. पीखेर a woman's father's house, Pr. पिइघर or पिइहर, Skr. पितृगृह.

M. माहेर, G. महीर a woman's mother's house, Pr. माइघर or माइहर, Skr. मातृगृह.

G. भोंवार, M. भुंवार, H. भुंयारा a cellar, Skr. भूमिगृह.

G. देहर, M. देव्हारा, H. देहरा, दिहरा an idol-chamber, Skr. देवगृह.

थ

72. Skr. नाथ a lord, Pr. नाह, old M. & H. नाह.
 Skr. मिथुन a pair, Pr. मिहण, M. मेहण.
 Skr. मथ to churn, Pr. मह, H. मह-[ना].
 Skr. मथनिका a churning vessel, Pr. महणिआ, H. मिहानी.
 Skr. पथिक a traveller, Pr. पहिअ, M. G. पही.
 Skr. पथुक flattened rice, Pr. पुहअ (?), M. पोह, S. पेह.
 Skr. पथुलकम् broad, Pr. पुहलअ-[Ap. उं], G. पोहळं.
 Skr. कथ to tell, Pr. कह, H. G. S. P. B. O. कह-[ना-हुं-यु. &c.]
 Skr. कथानक or कथानिका a story, Pr. कहाणअ or कहाणिआ, H. कहानी, M. G. कहाणी, S. किहाणी, B. काहिनी.

ध

73. Skr. बधिरकः deaf, Pr. बहिरओ, H. M. O. बहिरा, G. बेहरो.
 Skr. दधि curds, Pr. दहि, H. M. G. P. O. र्हि, S. डहि.
 Skr. मधु honey, Pr. महु, O. B. महु, M. मोंह.
 Skr. साधु honest, good, Pr. साहु, H. साह-साह, M. साव.
 Skr. वधू a young lady, daughter-in-law, H. G. S. वहु,
 O. बीहु or बी.
 Skr. परिधा dressing, Pr. परिहा, H. पहिर-[ना], G. पेहर-[हुं], S. पेहर-[णु], P. पहिर-[णा] by the consonants interchanging places.

भ

74. Skr. प्रभा or प्रभात light, dawn, Pr. पहा, पहाअ, पहाह, H. पह or पोह, G. पोह, M. पहाट. The S. पिरिह must be a later form. From the same root with the prepositions वि and सु we have H. विहान morning, S. सुहाउ light, &c.

Skr. भूभ to become, to adorn, Pr. सुह, H. सोह-[ना], S. सुह-[णु].

Skr. सौभाग्य prosperity, good fortune, Pr. सोहग्ग, H. सोहाग or सुहाग.

Similarly, H. पहिचान 'recognize' is from Skr. प्रत्यभिज्ञाना, the consonants interchanging places; G. वहालो or वालो 'dear' from Skr. वल्लभ; सेहलो 'easy' from सुलभ; वेहण-[हुं] to 'distribute' or 'divide' from विभज्, &c.

The existence of many such words as M. H. P. उपाध 'injury,' H. P. साध 'a good man,' M. G. H. P. मध 'honey,' H. G. लिख, लख 'to write,' M. G. H. नख 'nail,' S. सुभाणे 'in the morning' shows that the popular speech of Northern India has now for a long time ceased to have recourse to this process of dropping the mute element of the aspirates of the Sanskrit words adopted from time to time from the parent

language. Still, however, a few later instances, such as S. *पिरिह* 'dawn,' H. G. *माह* 'middle' from *माध* and *मध्य*, and some of the compounds of *घर* noticed above show that it has not been entirely absent. The elision of simple mutes and of the mute element of aspirates is a natural phenomenon which one always meets with in the course of lingual development; but its operation is generally slow and it is only in consequence of its systematic occurrence in the Prākṛits that I have attributed it to an ethnological cause, and supposed that the Prākṛit speakers belonged to another race than those who spoke Sanskrit, and being unused to Sanskrit sounds caught only the initial consonants from their Sanskrit teachers and dropped the rest or the mute portion of the rest. When, however, in the course of time they became used to those sounds and the Sanskrit and Prākṛit speaking races became united into one community, they ceased to be so dropped, except through the slow and gradual operation of the usual phonetic laws; and hence it is that in modern times we find Sanskrit words not shorn of their elements in the manner in which they were in ancient times as indicated above.

This elision, though it involves economy and is a natural process, constitutes a peculiarity of the Prākṛits in so far as it is due to peculiar historical incidents. We will now notice the peculiarities which do not involve economy and must be attributed to vocal predilections. Of the words in which a Sanskrit dental is changed to a cerebral in the Prākṛits the vernaculars have preserved the following:—

75. Skr. *बिभीतक* myrobalan, Pr. *बहेडभो*, M. *बेहडा*, &c., as in table 8.

Skr. *पत* to fall, Pr. *पड*, M. G. H. *पड*-[*पें-बुं-ना*],

Skr. *इक्ष* to bite, Pr. *उस*, M. H. P. G. *उस*-[*पें-ना-णा-बुं*]. From this H. M. G. *डांस*, O. *डाआंश* a mosquito, Skr. *इक्ष*.

Skr. *इक्ष* to stick, Pr. *उछ* (*past part.*), M. G. *उक*-[*पें-बुं*].

Skr. *क्षय* to decay, Pr. *सड*, M. H. G. *सड*-[*पें-ना-बुं*].

Skr. *झोला* a swinz, Pr. *डोला*, H. *डोला* *masc.* From this are derived M. *डुलने*, H. *डोलना*, G. *डोलबुं* to swing, M. *डुलकी* a nap, G. *डोळा* nodding, M. G. H. P. O. *डोली* a litter or Sedan chair.

Skr. *दण्ड* a stick, Pr. *डण्ड*, H. *डांड* or *डांडा*, P. *डंडा*, G. M. (*dial.*) *डांडो*, H. G. *डांडी*. M. has *दांडा* and *दांडी*.

Skr. *दह* to burn, Pr. *डह*, H. *डाहना* to be spiteful, malicious, H. P. *डाह* malice.

Skr. *सिधिल*, Pr. *सिडिल*, M. *सडळ*, &c., as in Table 29.

Skr. *दम्भ* hypocrisy, deceptive appearance, Pr. *डम्भ*, M. *डंभ*.

Skr. *दोहद्* longing, Pr. *डोहल*, M. *डोहाळा*.

There are many later instances of this change :—

76. M. S. *दाण*-[*णै-णु*], H. *दानना*, B. *दानिवा*, O. *दाणिवा* to stretch, Skr. *तन*; M. *टिळा*, G. *टिळो* a mark on the forehead, Skr. *तिलक*; H. M. *टिकली*, G. *टिकडी*, S. *टिकिडो* a small mark on the forehead, a spangle, Skr. *तिलक*: by consonants interchanging place-; M. G. *टाळ*, H. *टाली* a kind of cymbal, from Skr. *ताल* measured or beaten time, M. *टाळा*, G. *टाळु* the roof of the mouth, Skr. *तालु*; H. P. *डाल-डाला-डाली*, S. *डारी-डारो*, G. *डाळी*, B. O. *डाल*, M. *डाहळी* a branch or bough, Skr. *दल*; M. *कढणे*, &c., as in p. 172.

The Sindhi has the largest number of instances, and the Hindi and the Panjabi come next. The Marathi and Gujarati have the smallest number.

77. S. *दुंदो* satisfied, Skr. *मुष्ट*-[*कः*]; S. *देडो* crooked, H. P. *देडा*, M. *तेडा*, M. (*dial.*) *तिडो*, Skr. *तिर्यक्*; S. *दूंडो*, H. *दूठ* handleless, M. *थोटा*, Skr. *स्थगु* with the suffix *ट*, Pr. *थउटो* (?); S. *डखिणु* the south, H. *खिन*, Skr. *वक्षिण*; S. *डंहु* a tooth, H. M. *दांत*, Skr. *दन्त*; S. *दया* pity, M. H. Skr. *दया*; S. *डसणु* to show, H. *दसना*, Skr. *दर्शन*; S. *डह* ten, H. *दस*, M. *दहा*, Skr. *दश*; S. *डाठ* or *डाइह* a grinder, H. *डाढ*, M. *राढ*, Skr. *दण्ड*; S. *डिओ* a lamp, H. *दिया*, M. *दिवा*, Skr. *दीप*-[*कः*]; S. *दिभणु* to give, H. *देना*, M. *देणै*, Skr. *दान*; S. *डीठो*, H. P. *डीठ* impudent, M. *धीट*, Skr. *धृष्ट*; S. *डिसणु* see, H. *दिसना*, M. *दिसणै* to appear, Skr. *दृश्य*; S. *डिठो* seen, H. P. *डीठ*, G. *दिठो*, Skr. *दृष्ट*.

O. *डाहाण*, B. *डाइन* to the right hand, H. *दहिना*.

Thus then the Pāli and Prākṛit tendency to pronounce dentals as cerebrals is seen in a much more exaggerated form in the Sindhi and next to it in the Hindi and the Panjabi, while the other modern dialects seem to have kept it quite within the bounds in which we find it in the ancient dialects, though they have changed more words in that way than they.

In the following instances the cerebral mute in the place of the dental is to be considered as due to the influence of an adjoining *इ*.

78. *पड* for Pr. *पंडि*, Skr. *प्रति*, in the words given in list 52, and *हरडा*, *पुडै*, and *मडै* in the same.

M. G. H. S. P. *डर*-[*णै-डुं-ना-णु-ना*], B. O. *डरिवा*, Pr. *डर*, Skr. *हर* fear.

H. *डाम* or *डाव*, G. *डाम* or *डामो*, S. *डडु*, Skr. *दर्भ* a kind of grass, but P. *दळभ*.

H. मही or माटी, &c., as in list 4.

H. बुझा, बडा, M. S. बड, &c., as in list 4.

H. केवट, Skr. कैवर्त a pilot.

H. उबटन, M. उटनें, G. उटणु, S. उबटणु a cosmetic, Skr. उहृतेन.

H. टाकना or ताकना, M. टकणे, O. टाकिवा, Skr. तर्के to watch, to look out for. G. B. S. have त for ट.

M. H. पवाडा, S. G. पवाडो a narrative, Skr. प्रवाद-[कः].

Even here the Sindhi has more instances than the others:—

79. प्रदु a son, Skr. पुत्र, M. पूत.

टिह् thirst, Skr. तृषा, P. तिहा.

निड sleep, Skr. निद्रा, H. नीद.

टामो copper, Skr. ताम्र, M. तांबे, &c.

Uninitial न् is changed to ण् in the Prākṛits invariably, but when it is at the beginning of a word it undergoes that change optionally. In the vernaculars the initial न् remains unchanged, but when medial it becomes mostly ण् in the Marāṭhī, Gujarātī, Sindhi, and Panjābī.

Initial न्.

80. M. नाव, &c., as in list 64.

P. नेउल as in list 24.

H. S. नाई, &c., as in list 69.

M. नीज, H. नीद, S. निड sleep,

M. नवा, H. नया, S. नभो,

Skr. निद्रा.

as in list 69.

P. नेउहा, H. नेवता, G. नोतरह an invitation, Skr. निमन्त्र.

H. P. नेरे as in p. 166.

Skr. निमन्त्र.

H. नह, &c., as in list 70.

M. नणंद, P. नणान, S. निणुन, H.

P. नैण, as in list 16.

ननद or ननरी, B. ननद or ननरा, Skr.

H. नौनी as in list 17.

ननान्द husband's sister, &c.

Medial ण्.

81. M. माणूस, G. माणस, S. माणूं, P. माणुस, Skr. मनुष्य a man.

M. दिसनें, S. डिसणु, P. दिसणा, Skr. दर्शन or दर्शनक appearing; and all other infinitives in णे-णु-णा.

M. जण, G. जण, S. जणो, P. जणा, Skr. जन-[कः] a person.

M. G. कहाणी, S. किहाणी, Skr. कथानिका a story.

M. G. S. P. पाणी, Skr. पानीय water.

M. G. S. P. जाण-[णे-णु-णा], Skr. जाना to know.

M. G. कोण, P. कौण, Skr. कः पुनः who?

M. बहिण, G. बेन, S. भेणु, P. भैण, Skr. भगिनी sister.

M. कठिण, G. कठण, S. कठन, P. कठण-न, Skr. कठिन hard.

P. S. G. जण-[ण-णु-णु], Skr. जन (causal) to give birth to, to produce.

G. लुण, S. लूण, P. लूण, M. लूण (in सेंधेलोण), Skr. लवण salt.

P. M. G. भाणण, S. पाण, Pr. अप्पाण, Skr. आत्मान one's self.

M. G. S. P. ताण-^{वे} कुं-^ण-पा], Skr. तन to stretch or pull.

M. नणङ्, &c., as above.

There are a few instances in which we have the original न in the body of a word, as in M. G. P. मन. S. मनु, Skr. मनः 'mind,' G. वानु 'promise' for Skr. वचन, and G. वेन as above. But the general rule seems to be that these four dialects have a medial न् in the place of the double ण् of the Prākṛits, resulting from a Sanskrit conjunct of which न् is a member. Thus:—

S2. Skr. अरण्य, Pr. रण्य, M. G. रान wilderness.

Skr. कर्ण, Pr. कण्य, M. G. कान, P. कन्न, S. कनु ear.

Skr. पर्ण, P. पण्य, M. G. पान, P. पन्ना, S. पनु a leaf.

Skr. जीर्ण, पूर्णक, Pr. जुण्य, M. जुर्ने, G. जुनु, S. झूने old.

Skr. विज्ञप्त, Pr. विण्यप्त, M. G. विनङ्-^{वे}-कु] to solicit; Skr. विज्ञप्ति, M. G. विननी, S. विननी, P. विन्न solicitation.

Skr. संज्ञा, Pr. सण्णा, G. मान, P. मन mark, sign.

Skr. जन्मदाया, Pr. जण्यदाया, P. जनेन a bridal procession: also, S. जन्म, Skr. जन्म, Pr. जम्म.

Skr. ब्रह्मोदरीन, Pr. ब्रण्योदरीन, G. बनोई, P. बनेइ, M. जानवे, S. बण्यो the Brahminic sacred thread.

Skr. चिन्त, Pr. चण्य, M. G. चन-^{वे}-कु], S. चनच, P. चक्का to think, to regret, to grieve.

Such also have in Marathi the purely Desastha Brahmans living in the eastern part of the Deccan or Maharashtra pronounce the न् as ण्; and the ordinary जन, कान, रान, विननि, &c., of that dialect become in their mouths रान, कान, रान, विननि, &c. They have, therefore, preserved it as accurately the old habit of the Prākṛit speakers to pronounce the Sanskrit न् as ण् throughout. On the other hand, the lower classes of the Kanad population preserve the Paisāchi peculiarity of reducing न् in all cases to न्, and pronounce चण्ये, कण्ये, जणे, &c. as चाने चाने जने &c., and this peculiarity we find in its fulness in the Hinnu, and next to it in the Bangālī. Thus the words such as न् in them in the Marathi, Gujarati, Sindhi, and Panjabi, given above, have the following forms in Hindi —

चान्, चिन्ना, जन, कानाने, राने, जानना, जौन, जानिक or जौन, कानिक, चनना, चन or चन, अपना, रानना or चानना, चनङ् or चन्ये.

And such of these words as are in use in the Bangālī have the following —

चान्, जन, चिन्ना, जानन, जौन, जाने or जौन, कानिक, चनन, जौन, चनफन, चानना, चन.

Other words in some of which even in Sanskrit a ण appears are in the Hindi and Bangālī thus :—

83. Skr. ब्राह्मण, H. ब्रम्हन or बामन, B. बामुन, but S. बामण a Brahman.

शृण in शृणोति, H. सुन-[ना], B. सुन-[न], S. सुण-[ण] to hear.

Skr. दक्षिण, H. दहिना, B. डाइन, right hand.

Skr. महण (!), H. B. गहना, S. गहणो, an ornament worn on the person.

Skr. कान-[कः], H. कान or काना, B. काना, S. कानो blind of one eye.

Still ण does appear in Bangālī but in a few words such as कान 'ear,' लोण 'salt,' &c. In the Hindi it seems to be entirely absent.

In the principal Prākṛit and the Śaurasenī all the Sanskrit sibilants are reduced to स्. Sanskrit words, therefore, containing the palatal ण and the cerebral ष which in the Prākṛits came to have the dental स् instead, have the last in the Hindi, Panjābī, Sindhī, Gujarātī, and Marāṭhī. But according to a law of Marāṭhī pronunciation, this स्, when followed by the palatal vowel or semi-vowel इ, ए, or ऋ, is transformed into the palatal ण. The foregoing lists of words contain many instances that prove these points.

84. List 2. M. H. P. दिस, S. दिस, Skr. वृद्धय; H. सियार, Skr. वृगाल; G. H. सींग, P. सिंग, S. सिङ्ग, Skr. वृङ्ग; H. P. किस, Skr. कृषि; M. पावस, H. पावस, Skr. प्रावृष्.

List 5. M. G. H., &c. सोंड, सूँड, &c., Skr. शुण्डा.

List 11 & 8. G. मानस, M. मानूस, H. मानूस, P. मानुस, Skr. मनुष्य.

List 14. M. H. बैस, Skr. उपविश; M. हौस, H. बैस, G. बैस, Skr. महिषी.

List 24. H. सेमल, M. सांवरी, Skr. शाल्मली; list 34. H. S. साध, Skr. अष्टा.

List 47. H. P. परोस, G. पीरस, Skr. परिवेष; list 46. H. सलाई, M. P. सळई, Skr. शलाका.

List 36. H. साला, P. M. साळा, Skr. श्यालक; list 63. M. सांवळा, H. P. सांवला, &c., Skr. शामलक; M. विसावा, &c., Skr. विश्राम.

List 69. H. सिहरा or खेहरा, &c., Skr. शेखर; list 73. H. सोह, S. सुह. Skr. शुभ; list 74. P. H. M. G. डांस, Skr. दंश; H. सुन, S. सुण, Skr. शृण as above, &c.

H. सीसो, M. सिसवा, G. शिसम, Skr. शिशप, list 65.

Other instances are M. साळ, H. साल, Skr. शाला 'a school' or 'an establishment'; M. सल, H. साल, Skr. शल्य 'a dart'; M. G. साकळी, H. सांकली, सिकली 'a chain,' Skr. शृङ्खला; M. सुक, H. सूख, Skr. शुष्क 'dry'; H. सीख, Skr. शिक्ष 'to learn'; H. पीस, Skr. पिष् 'to grind'; H. M. G. नास, Skr. नाश 'destruction'; S. वस, Skr. वर्ष 'to rain'; H. P. S.

सेज 'a bed,' Skr. शय्या, &c. Even in words adopted later and consequently treated somewhat differently from the way in which they were treated in the Prākṛits, the Sanskrit ज् and झ् are reduced to स्, as in the H. तर्सना 'to thirst,' Skr. तृष् ; परवेस, 'entrance,' Skr. प्रवेश ; परसु 'a hatchet,' Skr. पर्शु ; निसपति 'lord of the night,' 'moon,' Skr. निशापति; S. वंसु 'race,' 'descent,' Skr. वंश ; वस्यु 'to rain,' Skr. वर्ष ; वसिकरुणु to 'subdue,' Skr. वशीकरण ; P. सोग 'sorrow,' Skr. शोक ; सति 'quietness,' Skr. शान्ति ; परमेश्वर 'God,' Skr. परमेश्वर; M. वरिस, G- वरस 'a year,' Skr. वर्ष ; वरसवुं to rain, Skr. वर्ष, &c. The present speakers of the Hindî, the Panjâbî, and the Sindhî retain therefore the vocal peculiarity of their Prākṛit ancestors of pronouncing Sanskrit ज् and झ् as स्. Of the words given above the सींग, सेमल, सीख and सेज of the Hindî become शिंग, शेवरी, शिक, and शेज in Marāṭhî, because they are followed by a palatal vowel. Similarly, we have शेण 'cowdung,' Skr. शकन् ; शेगढ 'a tree,' Skr. शिष्टु ; शेवाळ 'moss,' Skr. शैवाल; शिडी a ladder, Skr. श्रेढी, &c. Even the original स् of Sanskrit words is pronounced by the Marāṭhâs as श् under those conditions, as शेंदूर 'red lead,' Skr. सिन्दूर; शिवणे 'to sew,' Skr. सिव् ; माडशी 'mother's sister,' Skr. मातृष्वसा, &c. Gujarātî too shows the same tendency though it is not so decided; and we have thus शिंग 'a horn,' शिखवुं 'to learn,' शिववुं 'to sew,' शिसम 'blackwood,' Skr. शिचप, शेज, Skr. शय्या, &c. But we have also such words as सिचवुं 'sprinkling,' Skr. सिच, सिञ्जवु 'to boil,' सिडी 'ladder,' &c. So that the Marāṭhî rule does not seem to be strictly applicable to the Gujarātî. Still the sound ज् is as natural to the Gujarātîs as to the Marāṭhâs, as is shown by such forms as हुं for हुं 'what?' करघो 'do,' &c., and in some provinces it is freely used for स् in many words.

The Bangālî forms of such of the above words as are used in the language have ज् for the Hindî स्, as :—

	B.	H.	B.	H.
85.	छुकिवा	सूखना to dry.	शिवाल	सिवारा a jackal.
	छुनिवा	सूनना to hear.	शिमूल	सेमल the silk cotton tree.
	छुइवा	सोना to sleep.	शूंड	सोंड, सूंड trunk of an elephant.
	पाघे	पास near.		
	शिगा	सींग a horn.	शिश्न	सीसो blackwood.
	डांघ	डांस a mosquito.	शेल	साल a dart.
	भईश	भैंस a buffalo.	दिवाघालाई दिवासलाई	a fire-match.

Bangālī books and dictionaries contain a good many words derived from the old Prākṛits or recently adopted from Sanskrit which contain **स्** in them. The object of the authors in these cases is to give the correct Prākṛit or Sanskrit forms, and not to represent the correct Bangālī pronunciation. But it is not necessary to hear a Bangālī speak or read his language or even Sanskrit for a long time to arrive at the clear conviction that his vocal habits do not admit of the pronunciation of **स्** or **ष** but only of **ञ**. Sanskrit and Prākṛit **स्** becomes **ञ** in his mouth. Thus the Bangālīs of the present day possess the same vocal characteristic that is attributed to their ancestors, the speakers of the Māgadhī by the Prākṛit grammarians.

ह has a tendency to pass off into **छ** as we observed in going over the Pālī. Instead of the Pālī **छक** for the Skr. **शकृन्** 'cowdung,' we have **छेणु** in S., **छाण** in G., &c., from **शकन्** another form of the word, and for the Pālī **छाप**, Skr. **शाय** 'the young of an elephant,' we have **छावा** in H. M. &c., the Pr. form being **झाव**. For the Skr. **शेष** the G. has **छेवट**, **छेडां**, and **छेडां** 'last,' 'end,' with the suffixes **ट**, **ड** and **ल**, for Skr. **शल्ल** 'rind,' H. has **छली**, for Skr. **शण** 'hemp,' O. has **छण**, for **सुवधार** 'carpenter,' which is **सुतार** in the other dialects and must have been pronounced **शुतार** by the Bangālīs, the B. has **छुतार**, and O. also. Other instances may be found. In Hindī Skr. **ष** is often pronounced as **ख** as in **भाख** for **भाषा** 'spoken dialect,' **पुरुख** for **पुरुष**, **भेख** for **वेष**, **विखम** for **विषम**, &c. This is to be identified with the practice of the followers of the Mādhyamīna recension of the White Yajurveda who read the **ष** occurring in their books throughout as **ख**. But other dialects also have a few instances of this change, as **विख** P. M. G., **विखु**, S. for Skr. **विष**.

Of the Prākṛit words in which a vowel or a mute is aspirated through the influence of an adjoining aspirate or an aspirated mute, the vernaculars have preserved the following :—

86. Pr. **पनस**, M. G. **कनस** Skr. **पनस** a Jacktree. The H. has also **कनस** but more commonly **पनस**.

Pr. **भिस**, M. **भिम**, H. **भिस**, P. **भेड**, Skr. **विस** edible lotus root. S. has **बिड**.

Pr. **खासिभ**, G. H. P. **खांसी**, Skr. **कासिन** cough.

There are a good many more modern instances :—

87. M. **करसी**, G. **करसी**, H. **करसा**, Skr. **परशु** an axe.

M. G. **कांस**, H. **कांस-कांसा** **कांसी**, P. **काझ** **काही** **कांसी**, S. **कासी-काही**, B. **कांस-कांसी**, Skr. **पाश** a noose.

Skr. विनय to solicit, supplicate. Pr. विण्णव. H. G. M. विनव [ना-वु-णे]; H. also विनीना.

Skr. राज्ञी a queen. Pr. रण्वी. H. G. L. S. M. B. O. रानी. H. रानी.

Skr. संज्ञा a sign. Pr. सन. H. G. सान. H. सैन also.

Skr. यज्ञोपवीत the sacred thread. Pr. जणोवईअ. H. P. जनेऊ, S. जण्यो. G. जनीइ. M. जानवे.

Skr. अवे to make over. Pr. अन्न. G. आव-[वु].

Skr. सनवे to consign, deliver. Pr. सनन. H. P. S. सौप-[ना-पा-पु]. M. G. सौप-[प-वु].

Skr. सर्प a serpent. Pr. सण. P. सण. S. सपु. H. G. M. B. O. साप.

Skr. इने sacred grass. Pr. इन्न. P. इन्न. S. इनु. H. डान or डाव. G. डान or डानो.

Skr. सट्ट stand. Pr. सट्ट. P. सट्ट. H. G. & early. H. M. G. साट.

Skr. इवुर a frog. Pr. इवुर. P. H. G. इवुर. S. इवुर.

Skr. भक्त belated. Pr. भन्न. P. भन्न. S. भनु. H. M. G. B. O. भान.

Skr. रत्न red. Pr. रन्न. P. रन्न. S. रनो. H. G. रानो. M. राता in राता-न्ना a red spot front of a certain tree.

Skr. सुप्त sleep. Pr. सुन्न. P. सुना. S. सुनो.

Skr. कर्देन mud. Pr. कइन. H. कादी or कादा. G. कादव.

Skr. नक्क to look out for, guard, watch. Pr. नक्क. P. नक्कना. S. तकपु. M. टक्पे. O. टक्किवा. H. P. नाक-[ना-वु].

The following are instances in which though the second member of a conjunct prevails, some of the elements of the first sound are added to it:—

(a) Conjunctions of a short vowel and a mute.

91. Skr. हस्त hand. Pr. हत्य. P. हथ. S. ह्यु. H. G. हाथ, M. B. O. हाथ.

Skr. मुदि fist. Pr. मुडि. P. मुव. S. मुडि. H. G. मूड-मुडी. M. मूड, O. मूडि. B. मूड.

Skr. पस्तर alone. Pr. पत्थर. P. पथर. S. पयक. H. G. पथर or पाथर. M. पाथर. B. पाथर or पाथर. O. पथर.

Skr. पुड back. Pr. पुड-पुडि-पुड. vernaculars as in Table 4.

Skr. पद्मावन wedding. Pr. पद्मावन. S. पडपु. H. पडाना, Braj पडौनौ.

Skr. बोध्या. Pr. बोध्या. vernaculars as in Table 5.

Skr. बोध्या. Pr. बोध्या. S. बोधो. H. M. B. बाया. G.

Skr. बोध्या. Pr. बोध्या. P. H. M. &c., as in Table 5.

Skr. उपविष्ट sat, Pr. उवइह, vernaculars as in Table 43.

Skr. दृष्टि or दृष्ट sight or seen, Pr. दिदि or दिह, P. डिडा-डिह, and the rest as in Table 2.

Skr. उष्ण hot, Pr. उण्ह, G. उन्हं, M. ऊन; M. G. S. उन्ह as in उन्हाळा-लो-रो for उष्णकाळ the hot season.

Skr. स्ना to bathe, Pr. ण्हा, P. H. M. G. न्हा-[उपा-ना-ने-वुं]; P. H. नहा also.

Skr. अङ्गुष्ठ thumb, Pr. अंगुड, P. अंगूड, S. आङ्गुठो, H. अंगूठा, G. अंगूठो, M. आंगठा.

Skr. विस्फिर to spread, Pr. विस्फिर, P. विस्फरना, S. विस्फेरु, H. G. M. विस्फर-[ना-वुं-ने] to be scattered.

Skr. शुष्क dry, Pr. सुखल, P. सुखला, S. सुको, H. सूखा, G. सुखो, M. सुका, B. O. चुका.

Skr. वाष्प vapour, Pr. वप्फ, S. H. G. वाफ, M. वाफ, P. भाफ, B. O. भाप.

Skr. स्कन्ध shoulder, Pr. खन्ध H. M. खांश, G. खांशो; but H. mostly has कंधा and कांधा, P. कन्धा, B. O. कांध.

Skr. पश्चात् behind, Pr. पच्छा, P. पिच्छे, H. पीछे, पाछे, G. पाहुं.

Skr. मीष्म hot season, Pr. गिल्ल, M. dial. गीम.

Skr. कृष्ण proper name, Pr. कण्ह, vernaculars as in Table 1.

(b) *Conjuncts of a dental and a heavy व्.*

92. Skr. सत्य true, Pr. सच्च, P. H. सच्च, S. सचु, H. M. साच्च, G. साचुं, B. सांचा.

Skr. नृत्य of नृत्यति to dance, Pr. नच्च, P. नच्च- or नच्च-[पा], S. नच्च-[ण], H. M. G. नाच्च-[ना-ने-वुं], B. O. नाचिवा.

Skr. नृत्य a dance, Pr. नच्च, P. नाच्च, S. नाचु, H. M. G. B. O. नाच.

Skr. मृत्यु death, Pr. मिचु, H. मीच.

Skr. प्रत्यभिज्ञान of प्रत्यभिज्ञानाति to recognize, Pr. पचहिआण, H. पहिआ-न, P. पछाण, B. चिन of चिनिषा, by dropping the first two consonants.

Skr. उत्पद्य of उत्पद्यते to be produced, Pr. उप्पज्ज, P. S. H. M. G. उपज-[पा-पु-ना-ने-वुं]

Skr. माद्य of माद्यति to be intoxicated, Pr. मज्ज, M. माज्जे.

Skr. विद्युत् lightning, Pr. विज्जू, M. G. बीज, P. विज्ज, S. विजु.

Skr. अद्य to-day, Pr. अज्ज, P. अज्ज, S. अजु, H. M. G. B. आज, B. O. आजि.

Skr. स्विद्य of स्विद्यति to sweat, also to boil, Pr. सिज्ज, P. सिज्जया to be soaked, S. सिझण, H. सिझाना-सिझाना (causal), M. शिज्जे, G. सिज्जुं, O. सिज्जिवा.

from Skr. निद्रा 'sleep,' M. नीज; P. H. ओछा 'trifling,' 'vain,' S. ओछा, from, very probably, Skr. इया; M. सावज, H. सौजा from Skr. इवापह which appears even in the Prakṛits to have assumed the form of सावज, though सावय is usually given; M. H. G. छी छी, M. छे छे, Pr. छि छि from Skr. धिक् धिक्, &c.

(c) *The conjunct क्ष when the sibilant is pronounced like श, and रस and रस्य.*

94. Skr. क्षण { a moment, Pr. खण, P. छिण, S. खिण, H. छिन, G. खण, M. (dial.) खिण.
a festival, Pr. छण, H. छिन, M. सण for छण.

Skr. क्षुरक-रिका a knife, a razor, Pr. छुरअ-रिआ, P. छुरा-री, S. छुरी, H. छुरा-री, B. O. छारा-छुरी, M. छुरी.

Skr. मक्षिका a fly, Pr. { मक्खिआ, P. मक्खी, S. मखी, H. G. माखी.
मच्छिआ H. B. O. माछी, M. माखी.

Skr. कुक्षि a side of the abdomen. Pr. कुच्छि or कुम्भिय, M. कूस; the rest कुख or कोख as in Table 5.

Skr. कृक्ष a bear, Pr. रिच्छ, P. रिच्छ, S. रिछु, H. G. रीछ, M. रीस.

Skr. तक्ष to shave, hew, Pr. तच्छ, P. तच्छण, M. तासणे, G. तासणं.

Skr. क्षेत्र a field, M. क्षेत्र from Pr. छेत; the rest खेत.

Skr. वत्स a calf, Pr. वच्छ, P. वच्छा, S. वछ, H. बाछा, बछा, बछ, G. वछ, बाछ-[रुं], B. बाछु-[र], O. बाछु-[री], M. वास-[रं]; P. H. बचा, S. बचो, B. बाचा, M. बच-[डें], &c., in the sense of 'the young one of any animal,' from the same.

Skr. मत्स्य a fish, Pr. मच्छ, P. मच्छ, S. मछु, H. मछ or माछ, B. O. माछ, M. मासा.

Skr. उत्सङ्ग lap, Pr. उच्छङ्ग, H. उछंग, M. ओसंग.

The conjunct क्ष sometimes appears in the Prakṛits and perhaps even in Sanskrit in the form of झ. The Sanskrit क्षर is झर in the Prakṛits, and this we have in the H. झरना, M. झरणे and पाझरणे in which last पा stands for the preposition प्र. झि is Pr. झिझ from which we have M. झिझने 'to waste away,' and from क्षीण we have S. झीणो, H. झीन, &c.

(d) *Instances in which a dental is changed to a cerebral through the influence of a previous र.*

95. > kr. र्वध to increase, Pr. वडु, H. बटना or बाटना, M. वाटनें, B. बाडिवा, O. बडिवा. But P. S. G. बध or वध-(पा-पु-वुं).

Skr. **बुभुक्षा** hunger, Pr. **बुहुक्खा**, P. **भुक्ख**, S. **बुल्ल**, H. G. B. **भूल**, M. B. **भूक**, O. **भोक**.

Skr. **मक्ष्ण** to anoint, an unguent, Pr. **मक्खण**, P. **मक्खण** butter, S. **मल्लणु** anoint, butter, H. **मक्खन** or **माखन** butter, B. O. **माखन** butter, **माखिवा** to anoint, M. **माखणें** to anoint, G. **माखण** butter.

Skr. **परीक्षा** examination, Pr. **परिक्खा**, H. P. B. O. **परल्ल**, M. G. S. **पारल्ल**.

Skr. **अक्षि** the eye, Pr. **अक्खि**, P. **अक्ख**, S. **अल्लि**, H. G. **आल्ल**, B. O. **आल्लि**.

Skr. **क्षीर** milk, Pr. **खीर**, S. **खीरु**, P. H. M. G. **खीर** a dish of rice and milk, O. **खीरी**.

Skr. **मक्षिका** and **क्षण** as in list 93.

Skr. **इक्षु** sugar-cane, Pr. **उक्खु** or **इक्खु**, H. **ऊल्ल** or **इल्ल**, P. **इक्ख**.

Though according to Hemachandra and Vararuchi the **भ्** of **क्षेप**, **कुक्षि**, **अक्षि**, **क्षीर**, **मक्षिका**, and **इक्षु** is changed to **च्छ** in the Mahārāṣṭrī or principal Prākṛit, still we see that most of the vernaculars derive their forms of these words from such Prākṛit forms as had **क्ख** for the Sanskrit **क्ष्**. But with the exception of **इक्ख** and **खीर** which are mentioned as occurring in the Jaina sacred books, these forms are not given as existing in any of the dialects. This and other similar omissions show that the observation of the Prākṛit grammarians was by no means perfect. The Marāṭhī forms of these words, however, with the exception of **अक्षि** which is unknown to the language and of **क्षीर** which is **खीर**, have **स्** or **श्** which is the representative of the Prākṛit **छ**, and hence they are the same as those given by Hemachandra and Vararuchi. Here we have one of several indications that the modern Marāṭhī is the direct daughter of the old Mahārāṣṭrī of the grammarians.

It will be seen from the lists given above that the Hindī, Gujarātī, Marāṭhī and Bangālī, mostly drop one component of the doubled consonants and to make up for the quantity thus lost lengthen the preceding vowel. In other words, the speakers of those dialects take the same time to pronounce two syllables the latter of which contains a double consonant which the speakers of the Prākṛit did; but the preceding forcible vowel utterance and the subsequent strong contact and pressure being avoided, the effect is that one of the two consonants is dropped and the previous vowel lengthened. This then is essentially a case of softening. The Sindhī drops one of the two consonants, but does not lengthen the preceding vowel; while the Panjābī generally preserves the doubled consonants handed down to it by the old Prākṛits. The

Hindī contains more instances in which the original Prākṛit pronunciation is preserved than the other three dialects. Hemachandra notices* in the Prākṛits the softened pronunciation we have been considering in the case of स्स् only, one स् of which is according to him dropped and the preceding vowel is lengthened, as in पास्स् for पस्स्स्, Skr. पद्मति, नीस्स् for निस्स्स्, Skr. निम्नम्, &c. This lengthening of the previous vowel is in the four dialects prevented as observed before* by the accent falling on a subsequent syllable.

In the Pāli and the Prākṛits, you will remember, the components of some conjuncts such as र्द्, र्द्, र्द्, र्द्, र्द्, र्द्, र्द्, &c., are not assimilated but separated by the interposition of a vowel. The vernaculars have preserved some instances of this process:—

99. H. सराहना to praise, Pr. सलाह, Skr. श्लाघ.

H. भगनी, P. भगन, B. आगुन fire, Pr. भगनी, Skr. अग्नि.

H. बरस, बरिस, M. बरीस a year, Pr. बरिस, Skr. वर्ष. So also H. P. बरस-[ना-ना], G. बरसुं, Skr. वर्ष.

H. गिलान tired, Pr. गिलाण, Skr. ग्लान.

M. किलस disgust, Pr. किलेस, Skr. क्लेश distress.

M. शिलोक stanza, Skr. श्लोक; G. हरख joy, Skr. हर्ष; G. सकेखम, P. सिलेखम, Skr. श्लेष्म, are later instances of of the same nature.

In modern times other conjuncts also are similarly dissolved, and we have पर्ताप S. M., &c., 'exploit' for प्रताप, खेतर् P. G., &c., 'a field' for क्षेत्र, पद्म S. 'a lotus' for पद्म, तियाग P. for त्याग, तर्छु S., others तरास 'vexation' for तास, धरम 'virtue,' H. M. G., &c., for धर्म, &c. But the books and dictionaries of some of these languages contain a good many Sanskrit words the conjuncts in which are not changed in any way. This is due to the fact that those languages are now the spoken languages of the educated as well as the uneducated portions of the different communities, and the former pronounce the words correctly and the forms given to them by the latter are not taken into account by the authors of those books. Again, even the latter, though they interpose a vowel between the components of some conjuncts as shown above, have to a certain extent become used to Sanskrit sounds and can pronounce others correctly. But in some of the provinces the old disability of the Prākṛit speakers has been inherited in certain cases by their modern descendants, whether educated or uneducated, and it is very much

* See p. 142.

to be regretted that the writers of books should in such cases write words in their Sanskrit forms which when they are read by themselves or others are read in quite a different way. The people of Sindh,* whether belonging to the higher or lower classes, and the Bangālīs pronounce the conjunct इक् invariably as कक्. Thus Sanskrit नक्षत्र is pronounced नक्खत्र, साक्षी as साखी, मोक्ष as मोक्ख or मोख, &c. The speakers of the Hindī more often pronounce इक् as छक् than as कक्, नक्षत्र becoming नक्छत्तर with them, साक्षी, साच्छी; मोक्ष, मोच्छ; लक्ष्मण, लक्छमन; लक्षणा, लक्छना; क्षत्रिय, खत्री or छत्री; क्षय, छय; क्षम, छम; &c. The Panjābīs pronounce the first three words as नक्छत्र, साखी, and मोक्छ, लक्षण as लक्छण, क्षत्रिय as खत्री, &c., so that they also agree with the Hindī people, but seem more inclined towards making कक् of the conjunct. The Marāṭhās, however, pronounce the इक् properly, though ordinarily they make कक् of it rather than कक् as remarked on a former occasion. Similarly, the Bangālī assimilates conjuncts the latter member of which is व् or य्, ईश्वर becoming इक्श्वर and व्याख्यान, बाक्खान in his mouth.

Some of the vernaculars assimilate the components of a conjunct made up of a nasal and a mute. Thus the Panjābī has डक् for इण्ड 'penalty,' मुक्कणा for मुण्डना 'to shave,' सुक्क for सुण्ड, Skr. सुण्डा 'the trunk of an elephant,' कक्कहा for कन्धा, Skr. स्कन्ध 'shoulder,' बक्क for बन्ध 'binding,' खक्क for खण्ड 'a piece,' भक्कणा 'to break' for भङ्गना or भङ्गना, थम्म for स्तम्भ 'a pillar,' &c. In the Bangālī खान 'a piece' one of the two न् sounds of खक्क is dropped, and the preceding vowel lengthened. Similarly, we have थाम 'to stop' from स्तम्भ. In Sindhī we have म्मु 'interruption' for भङ्ग; च्चड्डा 'good' for चङ्गो, M. चांगला; म्मुड 'madder' for मद्धिष्ठ; पिनु 'a ball' for पिण्ड; खनु 'a piece of bread' for खण्ड; चुमणु 'to kiss' for चुम्ब, &c. Here the Sindhī, as is

* While I was Head Master of the High School at Hyderabad in Sindh I introduced about the beginning of 1865 the study of Sanskrit, and the first thing I had to do was to teach correct pronunciation to my pupils. I had no great difficulty, so far as I can now remember, in making them pronounce the other conjuncts; but when I came to इक् all my endeavours to teach its correct pronouciation failed. I got the most intelligent of my boys to pronounce first क् and then इ. This he did very well, whereupon I told him to utter both the sounds one after another immediately; but instead of making कक् of them he invariably gave them the form of कक्. I then gave up the attempt in despair.

usual with him, drops one component of the doubled consonants. With this exception, the modern dialects have got no cases of the assimilation of the members of a conjunct unknown to the Prākṛits, while as shown above the speakers of those dialects tenaciously retain the vocal habit of assimilation of their Prākṛit ancestors in a few cases.

And now I close this part of my inquiry. The results at which we have arrived are these:—The vernaculars of Northern India contain the instances and, in some cases, a large number of them, given by the Prākṛit grammarians or occurring in Prākṛit literature of every one of the rules or processes of change grouped by me under the heads of softening, assimilation, dissimilation, interchange of places, accentuation, and peculiarities by which Sanskrit words become Prākṛit. Most of these processes have been continued and their range widened, to such an extent in some of the dialects as to render them distinctive characteristics of those dialects. Other processes scarcely or rarely observable in the Prākṛits have come into operation, such as the original accent on the penultimate syllable and the final accent derived from it, the avoiding of the hiatus caused by the elision of consonants in the Prākṛits in different ways, the change of ऋ to ॠ, and the dropping of one component of a double consonant and the lengthening of a previous vowel; and these have further transformed the Prākṛit vocables and changed also those Sanskrit words that have been adopted in later times. Some of the vocal tendencies and habits of the Prākṛit speakers are exhibited by the speakers of the vernaculars. Thus, like the former, the ordinary Gujarātī pronounces ऐ and औ as ए and ओ, the Deśastha Brahmans and other people of Eastern Mahārāṣṭra have a predilection for ॠ to which they reduce ॡ in most cases,* the Sindhis make वृत् of ॠ, the Bangālīs do the same and also pronounce ॠ and ॡ as इत् and वृत्, and the Hindī people reduce ॠ to ॡ. These again and the Konkan lower classes pronounce ॠ as ॡ like the speakers of the Paīśācī, and the Bangālī reduces all the sibilants to ॠ like the speakers of the Māgadhī; while the speakers of the Hindī, Sindhī and the Panjābī exhibit the old Mahārāṣṭhrī and Śaurasenī characteristic of reducing them to ॠ. The tendency to pronounce dentals as cerebrals is common to all, though it appears in a very strong form in the mouth of the Sindhis, and next to them in that of the Panjābīs and the

* I feel it necessary, for the present, thus to modify the assertion made in p. 166.

Hindī people. The general or almost universal elision of certain uninitial consonants, which was a characteristic of the Prākṛits, has disappeared except in isolated cases, and the assimilation of the components of a conjunct which was also very general has become restricted to the few cases I have mentioned, though the words changed in the Prākṛits in accordance with these two processes have come down to us in large numbers. While, therefore, this fact shows that the speakers of the Prākṛits were in a condition which rendered the two phenomena very general in their speech, and that we are now free from it, the fact that we exhibit some of the same vocal peculiarities which they possessed leads to the conclusion that we are their successors or lineal descendants. And the fact that the vocables in ordinary use in our modern dialects are the same as those in the old Prākṛits, whether of a Deśya or Sanskrit origin, and in the latter case whether derived by the transformation of Sanskrit words in accordance with processes which have ceased or which have continued to operate in the vernaculars, affords strong evidence in favour of the hypothesis that these dialects are but a more developed form of the Prākṛits. But to place this hypothesis beyond the reach of cavil we must examine the grammar of our vernaculars; and this I propose doing in the next two lectures.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

(JANUARY 1886 TO AUGUST 1887.)

A Meeting of the Society was held on Thursday, the 28th January 1886, Mr. C. E. Fox, *Vice-President*, in the Chair.

The minutes of the last Meeting were read and confirmed.

Professor Peterson read a paper on a new Sanskrit Anthology by one Jalhana, which has recently come into his hands.

A list of books, &c., presented to the Society was laid on the table, and thanks voted to the donors.

The following gentlemen were elected members of the Society :—
Mr. John Warden, Mr. Rowji Bhowanrao Powghay, B.A., Mr. A. A. de S. C. Continho, and Mr. H. M. Batty, C. S.

A Meeting of the Society was held on Thursday, the 25th March 1886 :—Mr. W. E. Hart, in the Chair ; Messrs. J. Westlake, C. A. Stuart, Vandravandas Purshotumdass, G. A. Kittredge, Javerilal Umia-shankar Yajnik, G. W. Forest, Yeshwant Wassudeva Athalé, Rowjee, Bhowanirow Panghay, Drs. K. R. Kirtikar, T. S. Weir, Moreswar Gopal Deshmukh, J. Gerson da Cunha, Bhagwanlal Indrají, and Dr. Peterson, Hon. Secretary.

The minutes of the last Meeting were read and confirmed.

Dr. Kirtikar read a paper on Marathi poetry.

A list of books, pamphlets, &c., presented to the Society was laid on the table, and thanks voted to the donors.

The following gentlemen have been elected members of the Society since the last meeting :—Mr. R. H. Macaulay, Mr. M. R. Wyer, Mr. Frank DeBovis, and Mr. S. Westlake, C.S.

A General Meeting of the Society was held on Thursday, the 25th November 1886, the Hon'ble Mr. Justice West, *President*, in the Chair.

The following were proposed to be added to the list of Periodicals from the commencement of the next year :

Daily News.

Revue Critique.

Journal of the Bombay Natural History Society.

A Meeting of the Society was held on the 28th January 1887, when Professor J. Darmesteter read a paper on "A Hindoo Legend in the Shah Nama." The Hon'ble Mr. Justice West presided, and there were present the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Hart, Sir Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy, Professor Peterson, the Hon'ble Mr. K. T. Telang, Messrs. G. W. Forrest, J. Burgess, J. Griffiths, Rev. Dr. R. W. Evans, Rev. R. Scott, Dr. J. Gerson da Cunha, Messrs. Cursetjee Furdoonjee Parukh, K. B. Kama, Dorab Dastur Peshotan Sanjana, J. H. Steel, W. R. Macdonell, and Byramjee Nusserwanjee Seervai, and Drs. Atmaram Pandurung, K. R. Kirtikar, and Bhagwanlal Indrajai.

Mr. Darmesteter said that he wanted to propose a problem to the Meeting the solution of which might interest the historian as to the literary relation between India and Persia. He drew attention to what he termed the striking similarity between the episode in the Mahabharata, known as the renunciation of Yudhisthira, king of Delhi, and the renunciation of Kaikhosroo in the Shah Namah. Yudhisthira after having reconquered his kingdom, which had been usurped by his cousins, the Kurus, became disgusted with the world, sought to leave it and go to heaven. He set out for heaven with his four brothers and their common wife Draupadi. They crossed the Himalayas and then saw Mount Meru, which was believed to be the seat of heaven beyond a sea of sand. In crossing this desert, Yudhisthira's brothers and wife fell one by one exhausted and died, and he entered heaven alone. In the Shah Namah Kaikhosroo, king of Persia, after avenging the murder of his parents on his grandfather, Afrasyab, king of Turan, left the earth disgusted, and also set out for heaven. His noblemen and several faithful followers accompanied him on his journey against his warnings. They crossed a mountain, and arrived at a desert of sand, but in passing through it they were killed, also buried, during the night in a snowstorm. After the storm was over the king was seen no more. He was supposed to have been translated to heaven during the storm. Mr. Darmesteter thought that the similarity

between the two legends was too particular to be accounted for, except by assuming that they were borrowed from one another, or from some common source. As there was evidence that the legend of Kaikhosroo was as old as Alexander's time, and on the other side as the style and the treatment of the Hindoo episode seemed to show it to have been a modern addition to the Mahabharata, the lecturer was inclined to think that it was borrowed from Persian either through literary connection or from oral tradition. The Professor attempted to show that the Persian legend was borrowed to the last detail by the Hebrew writers of the Sepher Hayashar, a legendary history of the Jewish people, written in the Middle Ages, and applied to Patriarch Enoch.

A discussion then followed, at the invitation of the President, on the point raised by the lecturer.

Mr. K. R. Cama said that Mr. Darmesteter had added another link to those already existing between the old literature of India and that of Persia. He thought that up to now the Shah Namah had been looked down upon because it was believed that it was not correct, as its legends did not agree with those contained in the Grecian authors. The Cuneiform Inscription, however, corroborated the Grecian authors, and the Avesta corroborated the Shah Namah. The new light thrown upon the study of the latter by the lecturer earned for him the thanks of the Parsee community for the stimulus given them in this, and other respects, to the study of Iranian antiquities.

Dr. Peterson thought that no Sanskritist would in the present state of knowledge commit himself to any positive statement as to the date of the Mahabharata. It was certain, however, that the considerations which had been of late years referring many Indian classical writers to a later date than that assigned to them by tradition, did not apply to the two Indian epics. They were written in a popular tongue. Members of the Society knew the story of the great Girnar Inscription of Asoka. Besides its general interest and importance to scholars, that Inscription had a peculiar interest to the Society, as the first transcript of it was made and given to the world by Dr. John Wilson, and was one of the many services of that kind rendered to science by that learned professor. The Inscription was also written in a popular tongue, and in a tongue which was known to be clearly derived from Vernacular Sanskrit. While not denying that the two streams of Vernacular Sanskrit and the language spoken by Asoka might have flowed for centuries concurrently there was nothing in the circumstances of the

cases he thought to prevent them referring the date of the Mahabharata to a date long anterior to the time of Alexander the Great.

Mr. Telang deprecated the drawing of historical conclusions from resemblances such as these pointed out by Mr. Darmesteter. The resemblances, of course, were striking, but the differences were, to his mind, even more striking, and he had long been of opinion that it was highly unsafe to build upon resemblances of that kind, and specially unsafe to allow arguments founded upon them to come in conflict with conclusions arrived at in other ways. As to the date of the Mahabharata he agreed with what had fallen from Mr. Peterson, but would add that the very expression the date of the Mahabharata was one to which it was difficult to attach any fixed meaning, as the Mahabharata was a compilation of works not written in a single day.

Mr. Justice Hart suggested that the internal evidence of the stories as presented by Professor Darmesteter to the meeting and members of the Society who knew no Sanskrit or Persian would to his mind suggest that the two stories had one common origin in some legend that belonged both to the Hindu and the Persian peoples. If there had been direct literary borrowing, he should have expected to see some similarity between the names. As regarded the legends themselves it seemed to him that the story in the Mahabharata, including the reference to Draupadi and the story of Yudhishtira's persistence in the matter of his dog, pointed to a later stage of society than its Persian analogue, from which these features were wanting.

Mr. Darmesteter having briefly replied to the points that had been raised by the various speakers, the President tendered to him the thanks of the Society for his paper, which he felt sure would be a stimulus to exertion on the part of the Sanskrit scholars present.

A Meeting of the Society was held on Friday, the 11th February 1887.

Present :

The Honourable Mr. Justice West, President, in the Chair,
H. E. Lord Reay, Patron.

The minutes of the last Meeting were read and confirmed.

Dr. R. G. Bhandarker read a paper entitled "The Congress of

Orientalists held at Vienna in September last, and the actual progress and future prospects of Sanskrit studies in Europe, together with general impressions received during a visit to England and the Continent."

H. E. made a few remarks thanking Dr. Bhandarkar for the interesting paper he had read.

On the motion of the President, further discussion on the paper was adjourned to Friday, the 25th.

An Ordinary Meeting of the Society was held after the business of the Annual Meeting on Friday, the 25th February 1887.

The Honourable Mr. Justice R. West, M.A., F.R.G.S., President, in the Chair.

Discussion was resumed on Dr. Bhandarkar's paper read at the last meeting, when Mr. Javerilal N. Yajnik and the Honourable Mr. Justice West made remarks on some of the points dwelt upon in the paper.

The Honourable the President then called for a vote of thanks to Dr. Bhandarkar, which was carried with acclamation.

Dr. G. W. Leitner then read a paper on the Hunza Language:—

Before reading his paper, Dr. Leitner exhibited some photos of the men belonging to the Hunza race, and the peculiar dress which they wear. In exhibiting a coat, Dr. Leitner said it was made from the feathers of the wild duck, and was very warm and light. It was a little the worse for wear, but it looked well enough when washed. Another article of dress which was passed round among those present was a cap which was the distinctive feature of the head-dress of all the Dard races. It was a felt cap made from the skin of the Markhor, the (snake-eating) wild goat. The highly-embroidered stockings were another article of Hunza industry in which the women of that country excelled. Dr. Leitner said he had a Hunza man with him, but he did not know that he might have taken the opportunity of bringing him to the meeting. Although he could do very little else, he could certainly embroider. The learned gentleman then showed a photograph of the three rival races—the Hunza, the Nagyr, and the Yasin. The Hunza and the Nagyr people speak the same language and wear the same dress; but they were, something like Cain and Abel, combining only against a common foe. Among other photos was one representing the poet and singers of Nizam-ul-Mulk and some typical heads from Kafiristan and Dardistan. Dr.

Letter, who had received a wire warning from the meeting, professed his anxiety by saying that a blue paper dispatched to him to be received so kindly. He was supposed not to have been idle since 1864, but considering the vast distances that had yet to be surmounted and crossed he had done very little. It was gratifying to him to hear a few words of recognition from their learned President, and to find himself so well received by the Society. Dr. Lerner then said —

It may not be suspected, even in this Society, that the Asiatic and European Emirs possess a certain interest for Bombay. You have in your midst E. H. Aga Khan, a mild and religious Mahomedan, whom the wild and ambitious people of Emira regard as their spiritual chief. I know whether he knows how valued they are or they how religious he is, but my message from him would be sure to be received with the greatest veneration, not only in Emira, but in Zenna, Sogiana, Valiana, and other districts lately touched or traversed by Colonel Leconte's party. In 1868, when I first discovered the names and languages of Turkestan, I thought the fact of the Aga Khan's influence to be of great value, and I believe that much of the success that may have attended Colonel Leconte's mission is, to some extent, due to the recommendation of good men by his Highness.

Emira may be said to belong to the still more remote country of Emagora, or rather to be on the border assuming that the name of Emira may be the same name as that of the Em, whilst languages may be said to belong to the same type of Emagorian and that is the interesting language in which I propose to give you a brief sketch.

Above all, the Emira language is of great importance to the physiognomy and even psychology of the country. Its suggestiveness will, I hope, be of service, whether or not my own conclusions are proved.

Is it possible to imagine a language, throwing light on the first attempts to give human speech with articulate sounds, or is it merely a recent development of the Turanian group of languages, among which, the same order may be imagined, or can so powerfully be traced, as the evolution which is possible in it from monosyllables to simple sounds give us the key to many unsuspected relationships with an African or even a

I will not attempt to decide these questions, which must be left to

further investigation, but I will endeavour to treat my subject from the standpoint of a linguist. I must, however, premise that the time has long past when even the practical acquisition of a language can be considered independently from customs and from the historical, religious, climatic or other circumstances which have originated these customs. No Grammar should now be possible that does not portray in its so-called rules the past and present life of the language or of the people that it seeks to represent.

Vitality must be breathed into the dead-bones of declensions and conjugations. Every so-called exception must be elucidated by the custom or linguistic characteristic that can alone explain it. The study of language is no longer a mere matter of memory, but must become one of judgment and of human associations. Beginning with the most logical and complete language, the Arabic, I have endeavoured to show that the thirty-six broken plurals and the apparently innumerable meanings of Arabic words obey the laws of the Arab's daily life and of the history and literary development of that extraordinary people.

Ending with the Khajuna or Burishki of Hunza, I find the same law, minus a written literature, for which I have adapted the Persian character as a vehicle for its traditional songs, legends and other folklore.

The difficulty of learning the words or laws of speech from savages with whose language one is unacquainted, is proverbially great. Even the highly-cultured Pandit, Moulvi or Munshi fails to give satisfaction to the European student, but with barbarians the obstacles seem almost insurmountable.

As one of the simple elementary rules, I would suggest that the traveller among savages should first point to objects in order to learn their names, then bring them in connexion with such simple bodily wants as can be indicated by gestures. This causes one of the men, if there be two, to order the other to bring this, that or the other, to come, to go, &c., which elicits the imperative form. The reply ordinarily gives either an affirmative or the first person of an indicative present or future. Of course, the same sound or the inflection of the same word has to be closely followed. Then use yourself the first person, which starts conversation and brings out the second person, and so forth.

Applying now this rule to Khajuna, the result at first sight is

unsatisfactory. Say, for instance, that you point your finger to an object, and that your enquiry is mistaken to be for the native name for the finger instead of the object to which you point, you would get a sound or combination of sounds which, when referred to another bystander, would apparently be at once contradicted. You point to your heart and you at once obtain words which sound dissimilar. You point to a little girl or to a little boy and you obtain the same sound. What is the cause of this? The reply is that in Khajuna the pronoun and the noun in all matters affecting a person or that affect people in their daily lives are so inseparably connected that they have no meaning separately, *e.g.*, As = my heart, Gos = thy heart, Es = his heart, Mos = her heart, Mis = our heart, Mas = your heart, Os = their heart, but take off the pronominal sign and the sound *s* which then alone remains means nothing. The same rule extends to the prepositions before, after, near, far, &c., which are of such assistance in finding out most other languages, but which in Khajuna still more perplex the inquirer. Again, this same feature is apparent in those verbs of action or condition which affect the human being, as most indeed do, and this is further complicated by the circumstance, whether or no the condition or action refers to one or more persons, to their relations amongst themselves, and other details into which it is impossible to enter within the time allotted to this communication. For instance, to bring one or more apples in a country where fruit is plentiful is very different from bringing bread (as wheat is scarce) or sheep. Again, the right position of the accent or rather the intonation which it represents is a matter of extreme importance, for, "ai" means "my daughter," "ai" "my son," "au" "my father," and so forth. "Gus" "thy wife" must be distinguished from gûs "a woman," which word is possibly put in the second person for women generally, because I fear the people of Hunza have not obeyed the injunction "thou shalt not covet *thy* neighbour's wife," and talking of "wife" they say how is it possible that the word wife should exist without it is somebody's wife, or that a head, an arm, an eye could exist as such without belonging to a person, or would they say, do you mean "his (dead) bones" or "his eye that *was*?" A further interesting enquiry is afforded by the study of the genders, so far as inflections indicate them, for the plurals of many feminine nouns are masculine and vice versâ, whilst in the verb "to be" or "to become," as well as in other numerous verbs, there are different plurals,

say, for men, women, animals again subdivided according to sex, and for things again subdivided into male or female according to their fancied stronger or weaker uses; *e.g.*, the gun is used by the men whilst hunting, and is therefore masculine, but the metals are feminine, because plates and dishes are made of metal and are in charge of the women of the household, just as the clothes are which they sew or otherwise manufacture; therefore whenever any particular garment is masculine it gives rise to the presumption of its being an article imported from another valley, and whenever there is a word denoting a thing, condition, or action distinct from their own intramural relations, it must be one of comparative recent introduction from a foreign language, or brought in with the Mahomedan religion which sits so loosely on the inhabitants of Hunza. Twenty years ago, when I learned the elements of Khajuna from a son of the Raja of Nagyr, the district which confronts Hunza across the same river, there were no indigenous words used apart from the pronoun. "The father's house" was then like "my father *his* house." Last year, when I continued the study under another son of the same Raja, I already found that a number of indigenous words were being used in the third person and yet distinct from the person, in consequence partly of an ordinary law, but chiefly owing to the comparative greater accessibility of Hunza and Nagyr to Gilgit and Badakshan travellers, and the consequent greater introduction of Persian and Shina words. (Shina is the language of Gilgit.)

As for the change of gender from the singular to the plural it is not to be wondered at, for elsewhere also we may find, that whereas one councillor may be a wise old man, a number of them may constitute a council of wise or unwise old women.

Again, what contains something else is feminine, but the thing contained is masculine, *e.g.*, arrow is masculine, but the bow on which it rests is feminine. You will see before you the proofs of the first portion of a work which I am preparing for the Government of India, and which might be extended far beyond its present great bulk, were the reason given for every grammatical feature. But I will confine myself to mentioning some of the most striking characteristics of this singular language, so far as it may subserve comparative purposes; *e.g.*, the sound "a" represents the ego or self, and in nouns is the sound used for the relationship implied in "my father," "my daughter," "my sister," "my brother," "my husband," "my son," "my mother,"

"my son-in-law," "my daughter-in-law," "my nephew," "my niece," "my wife," and above all "my aunt," which is indeed the same word, being really the sister of the mother, and therefore the "elder or younger mother" in a tribe in which at one time undoubtedly, if also not now, all the elder members of the tribe were the fathers and mothers of the younger generation. When, therefore, the "Tr" of the tribe or "taro" is added to "a" it becomes a plural for fathers, mothers, sisters, something like the German "Geschwister," therefore it is just as if we were to say that the "ter" or "ther" in father, brother, mother, sister showed the tribe, and this is further borne out by the fact that "mo," the first syllable in "mother," is the sign for the feminine throughout the Khajuna language, for it contains the "a" or self, in other words "mother," "mater," would mean "the female that contained me and belongs to my tribe."

"G" or "K" the guttural is the gurgling sound of the child to represent the not self, "non ego," or the one that is brought in relationship to it, and therefore stands for the second person or for every relation in which a person must be connected with another person, whether in being killed or kissed.

The contemptuous "i" or "e" is for third persons. "M" we have already said is the sign for the feminine out of which arises the "mi" of the plural, plurality being impossible without female aid.

"N" is the sign of the past participle, but in itself means "to go," and is very much like the vulgar English "he has been and gone and done it" (os—had; nos—having had); or, like the German "ge," which is also the sign of the past participle and also means to go, *e.g.* "getrunken," "gegessen," "gone and drunk," "gone and eaten"; "gethan," "gone and done"; in Khajuna nishi, neti, nimen. The simple inflection of the past participle of "to go" will show this:

Past.

I having gone = n â ?

Thou having gone = n o ko ? (compare "gu" pronominal prefix 2nd person).

He or it (*m*) having gone = n i ? (compare "i" pronominal prefix 3rd person).

She or it (*f.*) having gone = n o mo ? (compare "mo" or "mu" pronominal prefix 3rd person (*f*)).

We having gone = n i men ? (compare "mi" pronominal prefix 1st person plural).

You having gone = *n a má* ? (compare "ma" pronominal prefix, 2nd person plural).

They having gone = *n u* ? (compare "u" pronominal prefix 3rd person plural).

They (*object. f.*) having gone = *n i* ?

It seems to be clear that "n" represents to "go," and that the inflexions are pronominal affixes corresponding with the pronominal prefixes already mentioned, the letters "o," "i" and "a" in the first syllables of "noko," "nomo," "nimen," "nama," being essential both to make the transition from "n" to "m" possible, and to enable the two syllables to be pronounced by means of a homogeneous vowel, i.e., instead of "nko," "nmo," which would be difficult if not impossible to pronounce without the insertion of a vowel between the "n" and "m" a homogeneous vowel is inserted, and the vowels thus become "nomo," and "noko."

"Y" is the sound for "giving" and you can imagine the difficulty and peculiarity of Khajuna, when I inform you that "itsshitshibai," "he is giving him," is derived by logical evolutions from the sound of "yu," "give." "D" stands generally for a condition in which one is seen, struck or otherwise subordinate or passive, without there being a passive voice, the language always requiring the agent being known, and having *special* forms for "they struck me," "she strikes them," "they are teaching us," "we will kill you," and so forth.

I will now proceed to quote some of the legends of Hunza, which as fairies are still supposed to preside over its destinies, may be called "Fairy-land." Indeed, Grimm's Fairy tales have many counterparts in Dardistan. The sacred drum is still struck by invisible hands when war is to be declared, and bells ring in the mountain when fairies wish to communicate with their favourites, for is not the King or "Tham" of Hunza "heaven-born" (his female ancestor having been visited by heaven)? Ecstatic women still sing the glories of the past, recite the events of neighbouring valleys and prophecy the future, being thus alike the historians, the newspapers and the oracles of Hunza. With one or two quotations from their proverbs and fables, I will now conclude my imperfect sketch of a language, the suggestiveness of which cannot be overrated, in the hope that I may have contributed a mite to the study of Oriental subjects, in which, I trust, that the Oriental Institute may not be found unworthy to assist.

Dr. da Cunha proposed a vote of thanks to Dr. Leitner for his valuable address. The speaker had an opportunity, years ago, of

admiring his deep scholarship and his marvellous facility in speaking a number of languages. He had also had occasion to appreciate his learned friend's benevolence and the cordial interest he took in the welfare of this country, and he had ever since followed with a friendly concern all his movements initiated in promoting researches in India and elsewhere by founding such institutions as the Oriental University in the Punjaub, and the Woking Institute near London. At that late hour he could not dilate upon the researches made by Dr. Leitner in various fields of knowledge, but reminded the meeting that a term which had now become a household word—Kaisar-i-Hind—owed its origin to him. In proposing a vote of thanks to such a man, Dr. da Cunha said he was simply paying a tribute of homage to his great learning.

Mr. Shankar Pandurang Pandit, in seconding the motion, said, he had the honour of meeting Dr. Leitner in the British Museum in the year 1874. He had lately visited the Punjaub, where he witnessed evidences of the benevolent work which, through the learned Doctor's exertions, was being carried on in that province; and he had heard many people speak in terms of gratitude for the services he had rendered in that part of the country. He need hardly say that the paper he had read was exceedingly interesting, and for it Dr. Leitner deserved the warmest thanks of the meeting. If Dr. Leitner's labours were to bring to light any remnants of the lost language of the Scythians or the Honas, a subject upon the study of which too much labour could not be spent, he would be doing a great service to the cause of antiquarian research. The Scythians and the Honas had left indelible marks, during their invasions of India, of their institutions, which were very different from the institutions of Vedic Aryans. Although some remains of these institutions were still extant, they were something for them to contemplate upon. There was one great thing which the student of ancient India wanted to know, and that was, what had become of the language of the Scythians and the Shakas, and if the labours of Dr. Leitner could supply any information on this subject, he would have added a great deal to the services which he has already rendered to the country.

The President, in putting the vote of thanks to the meeting, expressed a hope that Dr. Leitner would allow his valuable paper to be printed in the Proceedings of the Society and continue to aid it by further contributions.

The vote having been most cordially carried, the meeting dispersed.

A Meeting of the Society was held on Friday, the 11th March 1887.

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice West, *President*, in the Chair.

The minutes of the last Meeting were read and confirmed.

Dr. J. Gerson da Cunha read a paper on the marriage of Infanta D. Catharina of Portugal with Charles II of Great Britain; Her medals and portraits.

Mr. Forrest read an English copy of the Secret Treaty referred to by Dr. da Cunha, which he had unearthed in the archives of the Secretariat.

The President after a few remarks moved a vote thanks to Dr. da Cunha, which was carried with acclamation.

A Meeting of the Society was held on Friday, the 15th April 1887.

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice West, *President*, in the Chair.

The minutes of the last Meeting were read and confirmed.

Dastur Dorab Peshotan Sanjana read the first part of a paper on "The Alleged practice of next-of-kin or consanguineous marriages in ancient Iran."

Mr. Justice West, in proposing a vote of thanks to the lecturer, said they would all agree with him that the paper that had been just read was a very important one, and that they were very much indebted to Mr. Sanjana for reading it and adding so much to the treasures of the Society. He hoped it would be ranked amongst the papers which deserved to be printed and enshrined in their records. There was a special appropriateness in a Parsee priest bringing forward the subject which affected the honour and credit of his race and religion, and he could have scarcely imagined that the work could have been done with better spirit, greater clearness, and better appreciation of the historical and scientific evidentiary method in which to go to work upon a task of that particular kind.

A Meeting of the Society was held on Friday, the 22nd April 1887.

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice West, *President*, in the Chair.

The minutes of the last Meeting were read and confirmed.

Dastur Dorab Peshotan Sanjana then read the 2nd part of his paper on "The alleged practice of next-of-kin marriages in ancient Iran" in proof of the fourth statement "that a few of the Pahlavi passages which are alleged to contain actual references to next-of-kin marriages

do not allude to social realities, but only to supernatural conceptions relating to the creation of the first progenitors of mankind."

The President said:

I cannot pretend to the knowledge of Zend and Pehlavi that would enable me to discuss with any profit the proper sense of the much debated expression on which Mr. Sanjana has expended such close and searching criticism. I will but offer a few remarks on the general aspects of the question which he has handled with so much learning and zeal. It is evident, on a reference to Herodotus, who is the only one of the Greek writers quoted to whom I have been able to make a direct reference, but equally evident from the no doubt correct quotations from the other Greek authors, that they wrote rather from loose popular stories, and with a view to satisfy their reader's taste for the marvellous than from a thorough and critical examination of the subject of consanguineous marriages as one of momentous importance.

Herodotus has been confirmed in so many instances in which it seemed most unlikely that he has gained and well deserves just confidence whenever he relates anything as within his personal knowledge, but of the subject of King Cambyse's marriage, he must needs have gathered his information at second-hand. The other Greek writers hardly profess to do more than retail their stories out of a stock gathered with industry no doubt, but entirely without the control of the critical spirit which in modern times we have learned to consider so indispensable. Ctesias, who must have known a great deal about Persia and its people, from original observation, has told so many undoubted falsehoods, that his evidence is unworthy of credit on any contested point. The first sources of European information on the subject before us are thus remarkably unsatisfactory, yet it is to be feared that it is with impressions derived from these sources that the Western scholars have approached the Parsee literature. So influenced they may very naturally have construed the mysterious and rare praises supposed to involve a sanction of incestuous unions in a frame of mind which has led to illusions such as the Dastur has insisted on and striven to dispel.

One would gather from the narrative in Herodotus that the marriage of Cambyse was of a kind to startle and shock the sensibilities of his people—else why recount it? That would indicate very probably the survival in the popular legends, drawn from a pre-historic time, of some ancient tale of wrong which the popular fancy was pleased to annex to a king who had played so great a part and had so

terrible a history as Cambyzes. In almost every country one may observe a tendency, when some ruler or chief has taken a strong hold of the popular imagination, to tack on to his biography any floating legend that wants a personal centre that story-tellers and readers can clothe with a certain reality. In England the group of legends that gathers round the British hero King Arthur, affords an illustration of this. Some scholars have assigned a similar origin to the stories of Achilles and Odysseus in the two great poems commonly ascribed to Homer. At a later time many stray legends went to add to the glory of Robin Hood, and in Ireland still, unowned achievements of daring and ferocity are commonly assigned to Cromwell. In Eastern countries the sovereign and the royal family are looked on—and still more were looked on—as standing so entirely apart from the common people that any tale of wonder or horror would almost inevitably be connected with them. They really do so many things exceeding ordinary experience, that listeners of uncritical character, not knowing where to draw the line, would accept without question statements of other things quite incredible or even unnatural.

It must be admitted, too, that these Eastern monarchs and royal families might easily learn in ancient times, as they have in modern times, to think there was something sacred about their persons which made ordinary offences no sins in them. A course of adulation and superiority to legal coercion readily breed a contempt of moral restraints. It commonly produces an inordinate pride. We might thus have a Persian prince indulging in unions like the king of Egypt and the Incas of Peru, which would after all be only in them the practice, or the casual excesses, of tyrants besotted with despotic power. Germany in the last century was full of royal foulness, which yet stood quite apart from the general life of the people. Unbridled lust disturbs the reason almost more than any other passion. History abounds in instances of it, and if Persian despots and their children were sometimes incestuous in their moral delirium we should not be justified in reasoning from such instances to any custom of the people. The stories rather imply that these excesses were startling, and probably revolting, as were the tales at one time current about James the Sixth of Scotland and First of England.

If one applies to the narratives of the Greek writers the tests by which one would pronounce on the guilt or innocence of an accused, it may, I think, safely be said, the evidence is insufficient. It would

then surely be wrong to convict an otherwise highly moral nation, endowed with fine sensibilities, of a revolting practice, on testimony on which one would not condemn a pick-pocket.

It is very likely, indeed, that the ancient Persians, like other nations, before their emergence from the savage state, looked without disfavour on connexions that we now cannot think of without a shudder. The prevalence of family polyandry is as well authenticated as any fact in Anthropology. The ancient Britons had one or more wives for a group of brothers, so had the Spartans. A similar arrangement prevails among some of the Himalayan tribes, and traces of it are to be found in the Hindu law literature. The children in such cases are formally attributed to the eldest brother. A communal system under which all the females were common to the tribe seems in many cases to have preceded the family polyandry on the arrangements that we may see still amongst the Nairs. Where such a system prevailed it would very often be impossible to say whether a young woman about to be taken by a young man was or was not his sister. If she had been born of a different mother she could not be more than his half-sister, and as civilization advanced and the family was founded on the basis of single known paternity, the half-sister in Greece continued to be regarded as a proper spouse for her half-brothers. A marriage of such persons furthered the policy of the Greek statesmen by keeping the family estates together. Amongst the Jews also, who, as we know, recognized the levirate, which the Hindus first commanded and afterwards condemned, union with a half-sister by a different mother must have been recognized as allowable, at any rate by dispensation from the chief in David's time. This is evident from the story of Amnon and Tamar; and we may gather that the practice had once been common. In the Polynesian Islands there are tribes of which all the women are common to all the men of other particular tribes. When the children, as commonly, take their classification from the mother it is obvious that consanguineous unions must be frequent. They seem even to be regarded in some cases as connected with religious needs, since at certain festivals all restraints on licentiousness are cast aside even amongst males and females of the same family who do not ordinarily even speak to each other. There seems to be everywhere tendency to connect sexual anomalies with the mysteries of religion, and with persons of extraordinary national importance. The account given of the parentage of Moses, if taken literally, makes him the offspring of a

nephew and an aunt. Beings who are so highly exalted are supposed to be quite beyond the ordinary standards.

Both these sources of legends may have been in operation in ancient Persia, as it was known, and but superficially known, to the Greeks. There too, no doubt, as elsewhere, the transition from female to male gentileship was attended with a period of great confusion. A similar change took place, it seems, amongst the Hindus at a very early time; and in Greece Orestes is almost inclined to insist that he was not related to his own mother. As one set of relationships took the place of another, many apparently strange connections would be formed which yet would not really be incestuous when properly understood. Language would adapt itself, as we see in fact it did, but imperfectly, to the change of the family system. The Greeks probably knew Persian very imperfectly. In this country the young civilian is continually puzzled by finding words of relationship received in a much wider sense than their usual English equivalents, and the Greeks may well have found equal difficulty in catching the precise sense of Persian terms of relationship in the tales that were told to them. Their own system would make them take some narratives as quite rational, which to us are revolting: in other cases the strangeness of the story told of a king or prince would prevent a critical examination of the terms employed. It would be welcome just in proportion as it was outrageous.

It seems likely that such considerations as these may not have been allowed due weight by European scholars in their interpretation of the few passages in which an ambiguous phrase seems to countenance the notion that incest is recommended. I venture to suggest, as I have been able to do in my conversation with my learned friend, Mr. Sanjana, that a sense akin to that of *svayamdatta* in Sanskrit—an idea of self-devotion, varying according to the context in its precise intention,—would satisfy the exigencies of all or nearly all the doubtful passages. This, however, is no more than a speculation: I cannot judge its worth. I can only thank Mr. Sanjana on behalf of the Society, and most sincerely, for the very valuable addition he has contributed to our transactions. I trust it will form a new starting-point in history and criticism by the views it presents to European scholars.

A Meeting of the Society was held on Friday, the 15th July, the Hon'ble Mr. Justice R. West, *President*, in the Chair.

The minutes of the last Meeting were read and confirmed.

Dr. Gerson da Cunha read his paper, "Contributions to Oriental

Numismatics, Part I., Gold Coins of the Mongol Dynasty of Persia," which was illustrated with specimens from his cabinet: The following is an abstract of the paper:—In 1834, he said, the publication of two works, the *Histoire des Mongols*, by the Baron D'Ohsson, and *De Chulagidarum Commentationes duae*, by von Fraehn, first revealed to Europe the history of that nation of conquerors, who, in the 13th century of our era, issuing from the steppes of Tartary, overran almost the whole of the continent of Asia, and, entering Moscow and Novgorod, penetrated to Hungary. Until then what little was known about them was made up of some marvellous legends and spurious documents. He then explained the various designations by which the line of these mediæval Asiatic despots is known. It was said that the tribes who owned the sovereignty of Yissugei numbered only 40,000 tents, yet "it was upon this foundation that Yissugei's son Jingis Khán—*patris fortis filius fortior*—built up in twenty years the widest empire the world has ever seen." This vast empire was, at the death of this Eastern Alexander, divided into four monarchies, one of which was the line of Tului, whose son Hulagu invaded Baghdád and murdered the Supreme Pontiff of the Muslim El-Mustasim, the last of the Abbaside Khalifs. He then founded the Persian branch of the Mongol dynasty, which dated from 1256 A.D., and whose gold coinage he proposed to describe. The gold coins of the Mongols of Persia were very rare. Von Fraehn described four, and De Saulcy two, from the *Cabinet du Roi* in Paris. As it might not be generally known who these two great authors on numismatics were, extracts were quoted from Fraehn's *Leben* by Professor. Dorn of St. Petersburg, and from Froehner about De Saulcy in the *Annuaire de la Société Française de Numismatique et d'Archéologie*, and it was ascertained that, with all their researches and diplomatic criticism, after exploring all the private and national collections within their reach, they had not succeeded in bringing to light more than six gold coins of the Persian Mongols. With regard to De Saulcy, he particularly drew the attention of his audience to the following eulogy by Lane-Poole, dedicated to his memory. "Coins," he wrote, "have been used as helps by archæologists, but the great numismatist, who could master the richest provinces of the East or the West, or even both, and dignify his science as no longer servile but masterly, is of our contemporaries. Such was De Saulcy, who has but lately left us to lament how much remained untold by a mind signally fruitful in giving forth

its manifold treasures." De Saulcy died in 1880, and both he and von Fraehn, by their scientific discipline and critical method of investigation, were considered the masters and leaders "of Oriental numismatists, from the great value or imperishable character of the works they had left behind. He would also add the following about D. Saulcy from the pen of another accomplished numismatist, Froehner. "À l'a numismatique, à l'archéologie," he said, "il a rendu des services énormes. Son ambition était de frayer de routes nouvelles ; il laissait à d'autres le soin de les aplanir et de les tirer au cordeau. Partout où il voyait une lumière au loin, lumière ou feu follet, il y allait par le chemin le plus court pour allumer son flambeau." Pietraszeuski in his *Numi Mohamedani*, admirably illustrated by Sawaszkiewicz in his *Le Génie de l'Orient*, produced a single gold piece of this series, while the Catalogue of Oriental coins in the British Museum, the most complete work of its kind, both in copiousness of examples and in being later in date, published only six years ago, contains only thirteen coins. Thus there were altogether twenty gold coins of the Mongols, whose seventeen sovereigns reigned for nearly ninety years, from 1256 to 1344 A.D., hitherto catalogued and published. With regard to these seventeen princes, although the early Ilkhâns showed a praiseworthy desire to emulate the examples of the old rulers of Persia in the encouragement of science and letters, some of them, such as Ghâzân Khân, being themselves accomplished artists and men of letters, the later rulers were, however, reduced to the condition of *rois fainéants* or puppet sovereigns set up by rival Amirs. But to return to the coins, Dr. da Cunha said, it being evident that the gold coinage of the Persian Mongols hitherto known was confined to only twenty pieces, it might appear presumptuous on his part to choose this topic for his contributions to Oriental numismatics, a subject apparently so barren in results. But his cabinet contained forty of these coins, almost all of them unedited, and some perhaps unique. To allay the anxiety all collectors felt for the character of the examples, he could guarantee their genuineness or insure the authenticity of these metallic historical documents. This was the reason why he had taken the liberty to bring them before this learned Society and, through it, before the numismatic world. He would, in short, parody the words and sentiments of De Saulcy when addressing his letter on Mongol coins to Reinaud, and request them to grant a favourable reception to the humble tribute of these his gleanings in a field where the crop had already been so well har-

vested, or to use De Saulcy's words, "*l' humble hommage des épis perdus qu'il m'a été permis de glaner après une moisson si bien faite.*" Dr. Da Cunha thought that collectors would, perhaps, wish to learn how he succeeded in securing such a large suite of rare and, perhaps, unique coins in this, as in other series to be subsequently described. He said his residence in Bombay, the modern emporium of trade for Asiatic countries,—Japan, China, Central Asia, Persia, Asia Minor, and even Egypt, the rise in the value of gold within the last decade from 35 to 40 per cent. causing its afflux here for the present, and his cosmopolitan profession bringing him into contact with Arabs and Jews, Persians and Afghans, bullion dealers and other traders,—secured him the chance of saving these precious relics, by paying sometimes a considerable premium above the market value of the metal, from the crucible; for it had always been the habit of these merchants to consign such valuable coins to the melting-pot, their final destination. He said that he might also be permitted to explain, what otherwise might appear literary egotism, that quotations from foreign languages instead of their renderings into English, evinces the international character of this essay; for although he had the honour to address a few English and Indian members of this learned Society, it was through them, as he said before, that he was actually addressing a much larger body of numismatists abroad, who would prefer to read the quotations in the original, and which formed an important element in the retrospective view of the subject. Before closing these prefatory remarks and entering on the description of coins, Dr. Da Cunha said that it was necessary to reiterate the fact, that while von Fraehn's four coins were issued by one prince, the two coins of De Saulcy by another prince, the single piece of Pietraszeuski by a third, and the thirteen coins in the British Museum were struck by only three princes, viz., Gházán, Uljaitu and Aboo Sa'eed, his forty pieces were issued by nine princes, beginning with the founder Hulagu and ending with the fourteenth prince of the line, Suleyman, which was as complete a series as has hitherto been possible for any one to collect. The coins were then described; their legends, both in Arabic and in Mongol languages and characters, deciphered, and their import discussed,—thus contributing many new facts to the historical elucidation of this renowned line of Asiatic rulers.*

* Dr. DaCunha's paper will appear in the next number.—Ed.

After a few remarks the President tendered to Dr. Da Cunha the thanks of the Society for his very important paper.

The Honorary Secretary made a short statement with regard to a new cave at Elephanta which had been discovered and excavated "under the Society's auspices." The attention of the late Curator of the caves, Mr. Walsh, was attracted by fragments of sculpture found by him lying in different parts of the island and not having any apparent connection with the great cave. He saw reason to believe that, in addition to the two small chambers at the back of the hill, which were cleared out many years ago, there was a third completely filled up with rubbish and the falling earth. His representations to the Society were backed up by Mr. Fleet, Dr. Bhandarkar, the Honorary Secretary, and Professor Darmesteter.

This last distinguished *savant* visited the place along with the Honorary Secretary and Mr. Walsh, and was satisfied that Mr. Walsh had really made an important discovery. Government kindly put at the disposal of the Society a sum of Rs. 500 for purposes of excavations, and a third cave had been laid bare for the Society by Captain Dixon, of the Harbour Defences. The cave exactly resembled the two already opened, and nothing was discovered in it except an earthen pot. A low frieze over the entrance had been much damaged. While the new cave, therefore, might perhaps not add to the scanty information available with regard to the island and its caves, its discovery, the Honorary Secretary urged, furnished good reason why Government and the Society should not despair of eventually clearing up by fresh excavations the mystery which still surrounded the subject.

The following gentlemen have lately been elected members of the Society :—Surgeon-Major J. Arnott, Professor J. Oliver, Dr. D. A. DeMonte, Major-General J. H. White, Brigade-Surgeon P. S. Turnbull, Messrs. H. G. Gell and A. W. Crawley-Boevey.

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PROCEEDINGS OF THE BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

(SEPTEMBER 1887 TO MARCH 1889.)

A Meeting of the Society was held on Saturday, the 3rd September 1887. The Hon'ble Mr. Justice West, *President*, in the Chair.

The minutes of the last Meeting were read and confirmed.

Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar read a paper on a Sanskrit Inscription found in Central Java, with remarks on the contents, as well as on the Hindu Colony of Java.

After a few remarks by Mr. Javerilal Umiashankar Yajnik, the Hon'ble K. T. Telang, and the President, the usual vote of thanks was cordially accorded to Dr. Bhandarkar for the interesting paper he had read.

A Meeting of the Society was held on 15th March 1888. The Hon'ble Mr. Raymond West, *President*, in the Chair.

The minutes of the last Meeting were read and confirmed.

M. Emile Senart read a paper on the new Asoka Inscriptions.

Dr. Peterson said that to follow M. Senart would be a task which any one might be justified in declining, but fortunately there was one circumstance in connection with that evening's proceedings which, as their secretary, he would almost be wrong if he did not dwell upon for a moment. M. Senart had referred to the fact that the honour of first deciphering the inscriptions of Asoka, which for ten centuries was a puzzle to the learned of all communities, fell to James Prinsep. And Prinsep was one of the names which Englishmen ever put forward when they are challenged to show what England had done in the way of Oriental research. It was just fifty years almost to a day, on the 7th March, 1838, when James Prinsep communicated to the parent Society at Calcutta the first translation of the Girnad inscription. The materials Prinsep worked upon, where reduced copies of the *facsimile* of the inscription taken by the Rev. Dr. Wilson, the President of the Bombay Literary Society. They were, as they perhaps remembered, the representatives of the defunct Literary Society, and Dr. Wil-

son was the veteran missionary of 1878 as they all knew. Dr. Pearson thought they were to be congratulated in having such a scholar as M. Senart, giving them the first communication in my behalf, of the latest discovery with regard to the inscription, and he thought M. Senart was also to be congratulated in the fact which led him to find a fitting name and a fitting description here for the inscription he had to make.

Mr. Jeremiah T. Tinker also addressed the meeting and spoke of the vast interest the discoveries such as M. Senart had made in regard to the Achaemenian inscriptions, and the evidence of Persian history and the people of this country.

The President remarked that he would simply express the feelings which pervaded the meeting when he said that their best thanks were due to their eminent guest and friend M. Senart, for the important matter he had delivered. He said to himself that if they had had only time to digest the contents the list of many eminent persons who were present that evening would be useless and they should have had a very interesting discussion. However, he was afraid the paper would give rise to a discussion after M. Senart had left the shores of India, but he was sure the Secretary if M. Senart would take care that M. Senart would see all the important matters which were sure to be raised hereafter. When M. Senart had said the meeting needed to show what the difficulties of publishing these documents were. They were not only a question of money but the practical difficulties were not to be underrated. He thought that all those scientific countries M. Senart had gone through. The President continued: "I only accept the paper which M. Senart has said was on the Government of India and I am sure to acknowledge it from the day when he was in England and the day of all those who are in the world, those great resources which he worked out and put in these documents which are under their hands. The ancient monuments of England are not yet numbered and I think we have not done much thing a secret work. I say, about documents will show I am sure of the attention of those who have been to the world and the world and the world and of an important work in the world. One thing, apart from this, I would like to say, that we are not alone in having an extraordinary man who is able to see through the European and British of this country—that is, indeed, if there ever was

bestowed on such monuments we should probably have had a larger number of visitors, like M. Senart and our recent visitor M. Darmesteter, whose visits always are, if I may say so, luminous points of our winter season. I only hope M. Senart will encourage other of his friends to come and visit us and pursue those studies to which he has shown the way, that he will assure them, or as he calls those gentlemen—the travelling philologists—that they will always be most welcome in India. One of the most important things which the essay has mentioned, the fact which we were aware of, but still which comes out very brightly in this paper, is what M. Senart has called the edict of tolerations. As M. Senart has said, that edict of toleration is only a forerunner of the legislation which now prevails all over England. I again beg to thank M. Senart in your name for the essay which he has read to us, and I am quite sure when he returns to Paris, that in his capacity as the youngest member of that illustrious Institution, the *Institut de France*, he will not forget us when he will be tempted, on the foundation of the paper he has read to us to-day, to lay it out to greater advantage in a treatise. And I have no doubt that from these materials he has so diligently collected he can well do so. I can assure him that the receipt of that treatise will be most welcome to the friends whom he leaves behind in this Presidency.

The Hon. Mr. West desired, in the name of the Society and as its President, to join their felicitations to those of his Excellency, on the remarkable success which had attended M. Senart on the journey he had just accomplished in India. The Aśoka inscription had an undying interest for every one who was concerned, not only in the development of Indian history, but in the evolution of human thought and morality. The peaceful spirit so remarkable in the Egyptian inscriptions was entirely wanting in those of Aśoka, which breathed a spirit of the most beautiful charity and beneficence. His own impression regarding these inscriptions had been, until M. Senart had instructed him to the contrary, that the traditional words of Aśoka, which from their very nature must have made a deep impression on the minds of the people of India, and had been very likely made in various parts of India by pilgrims and devotees similar to what had been done in some parts of Europe and Northern Africa. The hon. gentleman concluded by thanking M. Senart.

The meeting then broke up.

A Meeting of the Society was held on Monday, the 21st May 1888. The Honble Mr. R. West, *President*, in the Chair.

The minutes of the last Meeting were read and confirmed.

Mr. Javeria, Umashanker Yajnik read a paper on a Memoir of Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji.

The President made remarks on the paper, and moved a vote of thanks to Mr. Javeria, Umashanker Yajnik, which was carried with acclamation.

A Meeting of the Society was held on 16th July 1888. The Honble Mr. Justice Bristow, one of the *Vice-Presidents*, in the Chair.

The minutes of the last Meeting were read and confirmed.

Mr. J. Westlake proposed that the subscription of Resident Members and Subscribers be reduced from Rs. 75 to Rs. 50 a year, and that the reduced rate should come into force from the beginning of 1889.

Mr. Justice Jervis seconded the proposition.

Proposed by Mr. Sedgwick, and seconded by Dr. Pechey, that the reduced rate be brought into immediate operation in the case of new Members joining the Society.

The Honble Mr. Justice Parsons proposed that the new rate should commence from the 11th July of this year, instead of January 1889.

The proposition, which was seconded by Mr. G. A. Kittridge, on being put to the vote, was lost.

The original motion with the rider proposed by Mr. Sedgwick was then carried.

The Ordinary Monthly Meeting of the Society was held on Tuesday, the 11th November 1888. The Honble Sir R. West, *President*, in the Chair.

The minutes of the last Meeting were read and confirmed.

Dr. P. Peterson communicated six unpublished Valabhi Inscriptions by the late Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji.*

After a few remarks by Mr. Javeria and the President, a vote of thanks was passed to Dr. Peterson for having prepared the Inscriptions for publication.

* This paper will appear in the next number of the Journal.

At the conclusion of the Ordinary Meeting, a General Meeting was held for the purpose of revising the list of newspapers, &c., taken by the Society

A Meeting of the Society was held on Tuesday, the 18th December 1888. The Hon'ble Sir R. West, *President*, in the Chair.

The minutes of the last Meeting were read and confirmed.

Dr. J. Gerson da Cunha read a paper entitled "M. Dellon and the Inquisition of Goa."

The President moved a vote of thanks to Dr. J. Gerson da Cunha for his paper, which was carried by acclamation.

Dr. Peterson then submitted to the Meeting the recommendation of the Committee of Management to reduce the subscription for life-membership from Rs. 600 to Rs. 500, whereupon Mr. Javerilal Umashankar Yajnik made a formal proposition on the subject.

The proposition being seconded by Mr. Narotamdas Gowardhandas, was put to the vote and carried.

A Meeting of the Society was held on Wednesday, the 16th January 1889. The Hon'ble Sir R. West, *President*, in the Chair.

The minutes of the last Meeting were read and confirmed.

Mr. Jeevanji Jamsetji Modi read a paper entitled "The River Karun, just opened to trade by the Persian Government."

On the motion of the Honorary Secretary, a vote of thanks was passed to Mr. Modi for his paper.

The Secretary introduced Mr. Lanman, Professor of Sanskrit, Harvard College, U. S. A., to the Meeting, and on the invitation of the Hon'ble the President, Mr. Lanman gave a short sketch of the present state of Oriental Studies in America. Mr. Lanman said:—

I assure you that it is with no small degree of pleasure that I have found myself received so cordially by the European scholars of Bombay and by this Royal Asiatic Society. I come from the youngest of all the great nations of the world to the oldest seat of Indo-European civilization. But it may interest you to hear that even in my distant land the study of the beginnings of that civilization is not neglected. Many years ago Mr. Salisbury took up Sanskrit and became Professor in Yale College. He had two pupils—James Hadley, who was cut

off in his best years; and William Dwight Whitney, who became Salisbury's successor. To Whitney's efforts and indomitable persistence are in great measure due the prosperity and achievements of the American Oriental Society, which was founded in 1842, and hopes soon to celebrate its semi-centennial. Professor Whitney has done more than anyone else for the progress of Oriental studies in America. With Professor Roth in 1852 he published the first edition of the Atharva Veda. Since then he has published, with most marvellous thoroughness, the Pratishakyas of the Atharva Veda and of the Taittiriya Sanhita; and, in addition, a complete index to the Atharva Veda and a work upon the roots of the Sanskrit language, with their derivatives assembled in groups under each root. His grammar of the Sanskrit language is quite different from the native Hindu treatment of the subject, and aims to present all the facts of the language in a vigorously logical and systematic manner. The late Professor Avery devoted himself to grammatical studies, and towards the end of his life to the languages of the hill-tribes of Assam. Professor Bloomfield is now editing the Kaushika Sutra. Dr. Perry has made a recast of Professor Bühler's Sanskrit Primer. And Professor Hopkins, after completing and publishing the late Dr. Burnell's version of *Manu*, is now devoting himself with extraordinary zeal and success to the *Mahabharata*. Dr. Williams Jackson has just closed a course of study with my old friend and fellow-student, Professor Geldner, of Halle, in Germany, and is preparing an Avestan Reader, which will be of the greatest service in opening up the field of Iranian antiquities in general and the religion of Zoroaster in particular to the younger students of America. But not only the literature and antiquities of India are being prosecuted in the West, the antiquities of the great Mesopotamian empires are eagerly studied. The Wolfe Babylonian expedition brought to New York many objects of interest several years ago, and the inscriptions are now being translated by Professor Lyon, of Harvard. Hebrew, Syriac, and Arabic all find able and enthusiastic devotees. I trust that many of my colleagues will come to the East and get upon the ground what it is well-nigh impossible to get from books—the general impression of the land, the people, the customs, and ways of life. And I can only hope that they may receive so kind a welcome and find as helpful friends as I have done.

The *President* tendered the thanks of the Society to Mr. Lanman, and the Meeting was dissolved.

At the conclusion of the Annual Meeting the Ordinary Monthly Meeting of the Society was held on Monday, the 25th February 1889. The Hon'ble Sir R. West, *President*, in the Chair.

Dr. P. Peterson read a paper entitled "The Nyaya-bindhu of Dharmottara, a Buddhist work on Logic."

On the motion of the *President*, a vote of thanks was passed to Dr. Peterson for the paper he had read.

The Ordinary Monthly Meeting of the Society was held on the 19th March 1889. The Hon'ble Sir R. West, *President*, in the Chair.

The minutes of the last Meeting were read and confirmed.

The Hon'ble K. T. Telang, C I.E., read a paper entitled "The Date of Purnavarma and Shankaracharya."

On the motion of the *President*, a vote of thanks was passed to the Hon'ble Mr. Telang for his paper.

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